

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL. V

**INSCRIPTIONS
OF
THE VĀKĀṬAKAS**

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA

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**INSCRIPTIONS
OF
THE VĀKĀTAKAS**

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

SOON after the publication of the *Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chēdi Era* (Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. IV) in 1955, I thought of preparing a *corpus* of the inscriptions of the Vākātakas; for the Vākāṭaka dynasty was the most glorious one in the ancient history of Vidarbha, where I have spent the best part of my life, and I had already edited or re-edited more than half the number of its records. I soon completed the work and was thinking of getting it published, when Shri A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, who then happened to be in Nagpur, came to know of it. He offered to publish it as Volume V of the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series. I was very glad to avail myself of the offer and submitted the work to the Archaeological Department in 1957. It was soon approved. The order for printing it was given to the Job Press (Private) Ltd., Kanpur, on the 7th July, 1958. Owing to various difficulties, the work of printing went on very slowly. I am glad to find that it is now nearing completion.

During the course of this work I have received help from several persons, for which I have to record here my grateful thanks. For the chapter on Architecture, Sculpture and Painting I found G. Yazdani's *Ajanta* very useful. I am grateful to the Department of Archaeology, Government of Andhra Pradesh, for permission to reproduce some plates from that work. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Joint Director General of Archaeology, went through my typescript and made some important suggestions. The Government Epigraphist for India rendered the necessary help in the preparation of the Skeleton Plates. Shri V. P. Rode, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, supplied the photographs of some panels recently discovered at Pavnar. Prof. N. R. Navlekar of Jabalpur kindly read a proof of the Introduction and made some important suggestions. To all these friends I feel deeply indebted. Finally, I thank Shri A. Ghosh, Director General of Archaeology, for having included this work in the Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Series and the Director, Eastern Circle, Survey of India, for the excellent plates which illustrate the records in this Volume.

NAGPUR:
20th April, 1963.

V. V. MIRASHI.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>A.B.O.R.I.</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.
<i>Ajanta</i>	G. Yazdani, Ajanta.
<i>A.S.W.I.</i>	Archaeological Survey of Western India.
<i>Bom. Gaz.</i>	Bombay Gazetteer.
<i>C.A.S.I.R.</i>	Cunningham, Archaeological Survey of India Reports.
<i>C.I.I.</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
<i>C.T.I.</i>	Burgess, Cave Temples of India.
<i>D.K.A.</i>	Pargiter, Dynasties of the Kali Age.
<i>E H D.</i>	R. G. Bhandarkar, Early History of the Deccan.
<i>Ep Ind.</i>	Epigraphia Indica
<i>G C.I.</i>	Ghaṭōtkacha Cave Inscription (pub. by Government of Hyderabad).
<i>G.O.S.</i>	Gaekwad's Oriental Series.
<i>H.C.I.P.</i>	R. C. Majumdar and A. D. Pusalkar, History and Culture of the Indian People.
<i>I.C.P.B.</i>	Hiralal, Inscriptions in C.P. and Berar (Second ed.).
<i>Ind. Ant.</i>	Indian Antiquary.
<i>Ind. Cul.</i>	Indian Culture.
<i>Ind. Hist. Quart.</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly.
<i>J.A.S.B.</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>J.B.B.R.A.S.</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>J.B.O.R.S.</i>	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.
<i>J.N.S.I.</i>	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
<i>J.R.A.S.</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.
<i>J.R.A.S.B.</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.
<i>M.A.S.I.</i>	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India.
<i>MBH.</i>	Mahābhārata.
<i>MSM.</i>	Manusmṛiti.
<i>N.H.I.P.</i>	R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, New History of the Indian People.
<i>N.I.A.</i>	New Indian Antiquary.
<i>N.U.J.</i>	Nagpur University Journal.
<i>P.I.H.C.</i>	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.
<i>P.R.A.S.I.W.C.</i>	Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle.
<i>P.T.A.I.O.C.</i>	Proceedings and Transactions of the All-India Oriental Conference.
<i>S.I.</i>	V. V. Mirashi, Studies in Indology.

CORRIGENDA

- Page viii, para 2, line 6—For *tādṛīśā putrā* read *tādṛīśāh putrāh*.
- „ ix, line 14—For *Mahārāja-Dāmodarasēna* read *Mahārāja-śrī-Dāmodarasēna*.
- „ ix, foot-note 1—For *Prithivshēna* read *Prithivishēna*.
- „ xi, para 2, line 5—For भोगे read भोगी
- „ xii, line 2—For *Sātpudā* read *Sātpudā*
- „ xviii, foot-note 2—For *amendation* read *emendation*.
- „ xxiii, para 2, line 6—For *Rāmgiri* read *Rāmagiri*
- „ xxix, para 5, line 5—For the sons *Pravarasēna* I read the sons of *Pravarasēna* I
- „ xxxix, para 3, line 4—For *explicitly* read *explicitly*
- „ xlix, line 6—For *Jujaka* read *Jūjaka*
- „ li, para 1, line 5—For *-tilaka* read *-tulaka*
- „ liii, line 12—For *praśasit* read *praśasti*
- „ lviii, line 12—For सारग read सारग
- „ lxxiv, para 3, last line—Insert an inverted comma at the end.
- „ lxxv, para 2, line 2—Substitute a comma for the full point after bases
For octagon read octagonal
- „ 19, text-line 8—For गुण[*] read गुणै[*]
- „ 19, text-line 17—For इह read इहा-
- „ 21, foot-note 1, line 2—For p 63 read p 64.
- „ 24, text-line 21—For सञ्च(चा)रि — read सञ्च(ञ्चा)रि-
- „ 29, foot-note 5, line 2—For *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāna* read *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa*
- „ 32, line 2—Insert **Phālguna** in after of
- „ 35, para 1, line 3—For *Mujumdar* read *Majumdar*
- „ 39, foot-note 4—For *-atistrishṭah* read *-atīsrishṭah*
- „ 40, text-line 5—For वृत्ते- read वृत्ते-
- „ 40, text-line 10—For व read व..
- „ 40, text-line 11—For हितात्थ read हितात्थं.
- „ 40, text-line 14—For प(पा)श्चै read प(पा)श्चै
- „ 41, text-line 22—For ऋणि- read ऋणि-
- „ 41, foot-note 1—For मले read मूले
- „ 44, text-line 3—For असभार- read असभार-
- „ 44, text-line 6—For भगवनाग- read भवनाग-
- „ 49, foot-note 7, line 2—For *Vēnātata* read *Vēnātata*
- „ 50, text-line 10—For समुदस्य read समुदयस्य
- „ 50, text-line 16—For मातु read मातुः
- „ 50, text-lines 19 and 20—Insert a hyphen after the last letter
- „ 51, text-line 21—For बलिबद्ध read बलिवद्ध.
- „ 53, para 3, line 5—For *klīpt-lopaklīptah* read *klīpt-ōpaklīptah*
- „ 57, para 4, line 6—For *sunoh* read *sunōh*.
- „ 58, foot-note 2, line 1—For *Rajamānika* read *Rājamānika*.
- „ 58, foot-note 2, line 2—For *viśhaya-mana* read *viśhaya-māna*
- „ 58, foot-note 3, line 2—For or *Mahāpūrusha* read or *Mahāpūrusha*
- „ 60, text-line 18—For बाकाटकाना read बाकाटकाना

- Page 62, line 9—*For kārṭtika read Kārṭtika.*
- „ 67, text-line 54—*For मा प्प- read माधप्प-*.
- „ 71, text-line 9—*For समीमान्त- read ससीमान्त-*.
- „ 83, line 18—*For -vishēsha read -viśēsha*
- „ 85, text-line 24—*Insert a daṇḍa at the end.*
- „ 86, text-line 43—*For [पा*तकैः read [पा*]तकैः.*
- „ 86, foot-note 7—*For सोद्रङ्ग- read सोद्रङ्ग..*
- „ 87, line 6 from the bottom—*For peoples read people.*
- „ 88, line 32—*For son the goldsmith read son of the goldsmith.*
- „ 96, text-line 2—*For व read वृ-*.
- „ 97, foot-note 1—*For Ajñapti read Ājñapti.*
- „ 107, line 3—*For Satārā read Sātārā.*
- „ 107, text-line 5—*For [क- read [क]-.*
- „ 108, text-line 16—*For -रूपेत [:*] read -रूपेत [:!*]*
- „ 116, text-line 5—*For धर्म्यन् क्रियाः read धर्म्यं ॥ क्रियाः.*
- „ 123, para. 3, line 2—*For Rāmāyāṇa read Rāmāyaṇa.*

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER I

THE DISCOVERY OF THE VĀKĀṬAKAS

THE Vākātakas were one of the most glorious dynasties that flourished in South India in ancient times. Their empire at one time extended from Mālwā and Gujarāt in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east. They were great patrons of literature. The liberal patronage they gave to Sanskrit and Prakrit poets soon brought the Vaidarbhī and Vachchhōmī *rīṭis* into prominence and induced great poets like Kālidāsa to adopt them for their works. They themselves composed *kāvya*s and *subhāshitas* which have evoked praise from famous poets and rhetoricians like Bāna and Dandin, Kuntaka and Hēmachandra. The temples they erected are no longer in existence, but the sculptures found in their ruins have attracted the notice of art-critics, who rank them among the best specimens of ancient times. The magnificent *vihāra* and *chaitya* caves which their ministers and feudatories excavated out of solid rock at Ajantā and Gulwādā still excite the admiration of the world. In view of these achievements there is hardly any exaggeration in the following observation¹ of Prof J. Dubreuil: “Of all the dynasties of the Deccan that have reigned from the third to the sixth century, the most glorious, the most important, the one that must be given the place of honour, the one that has excelled all others, the one that has had the greatest influence on the civilization of the whole of the Deccan is unquestionably the illustrious dynasty of the Vākātakas”

Still, the existence and even the name of this illustrious dynasty had passed into oblivion and became known only when the Siwanī copper-plate grant² of Pravaraśēna II was discovered in Madhya Pradesh in 1836. Vindhyaśakti, the founder of this dynasty, was indeed mentioned in the Purānas, but partly owing to bad readings and partly due to misconstruction, he was believed to have belonged to the Yavana or Greek race. Even after deciphering the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI which gives the royal genealogy from the earliest time to the last Vākātaka king Harishēna, Dr Bhau Daji remarked in 1862 that ‘the Vākātakas were a dynasty of the Yavanas or Greeks who took the lead in the performance of Vedic sacrifices as well as in the execution of most substantial and costly works for the encouragement of Buddhism³’. It has since been pointed out that Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the dynasty, is described in that inscription as a *devya*, which usually means a Brāhmana. The *gōtra* Vishnuvridha of the Vākātakas is also mentioned in almost all their copper-plate grants. It is now generally accepted that like the Sātavāhanas, the Vākātakas also were a Brāhmana family that rose into prominence in the early centuries of the Christian era.

The period during which the Vākātakas flourished had long been uncertain. Unlike the Guptas, they did not start any era, but dated all their grants in regnal years. Their age had therefore to be conjectured from the characters of their inscriptions.

¹ Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 71

² *JASB*, Vol V (1836), pp 726, f

³ *J.B.R.A.S.*, Vol VII, pp 69 f

Almost all the Vākātaka grants are incised in box-headed characters, which soon became stereotyped. Experts therefore differed on the interpretation of their palaeographic evidence. Dr. Buhler referred the Vākātaka grants to the fifth century A.C.¹, while Fleet² and Kielhorn³, whose opinion Sukthankar⁴ cited with approval, assigned them to the eighth century A.C. The latter view appeared to be supported by the mention, in Vākātaka grants, of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta as the maternal grandfather of Pravarasēna II. Fleet identified this Dēvagupta with *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta of Magadha, the son of Ādityasēna, mentioned in the Dēo-Barnārka inscription, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.C. The Vākātakas were therefore believed to have ruled in the seventh and eighth centuries A.C. This estimate of their age proved to be wide of the mark by the discovery, in 1912, of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which Prof. K. B. Pathak and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit first briefly noticed in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, (1912), pp. 214 f. and later edited fully in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 39 f. These plates explicitly mention that Prabhāvatīguptā, the chief queen (*agra-mahishī*) of the Vākātaka king Rudrasena II and mother of the crown-prince Divākarasēna, was the daughter of the illustrious Gupta king *Mahārājādhirāja* Chandragupta II. These plates, though discovered with a coppersmith of Poonā, really belong to the Hinganghāt *taluk* of the Wardhā District in Vidarbha⁵. The places mentioned in that grant could not be identified at the time, but the matrimonial relation of the Vākātakas and the Guptas explicitly stated therein placed Vākātaka chronology on a sound basis. Thereafter, Vincent Smith, who had not written a single line on this dynasty in his *Early History of India* (third edition, published in 1914), wrote a long article on it in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1914), pp. 317 f., setting forth, with his characteristic precision and clarity, the available evidence of copper-plate grants and stone inscriptions, and giving a history of the dynasty based on it. Later, Prof. J. Dubreuil⁶ and Dr. S. K. Aiyangar⁷ threw more light on the history of this royal family. It was, however, the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal who brought the Vākātakas into prominence and assigned them their rightful place in the ancient history of India. In the book *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, to which he gave the significant name 'Nāga-Vākātaka Imperial Period', Jayaswal tried to show that 'imperial rule and paramount sovereignty had been in the hands and keeping of the Vākātakas full sixty years before Samudragupta⁸'. According to Jayaswal, Pravarasēna I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, evolved a clear political thesis: "His thesis was a Hindu Empire for the whole of India and the enthronement of the Śāstias. Secondly, a great literary movement in favour of Sanskrit begins about 250 A.D. and in 50 years reaches a pitch at which the Guptas take it up. Thirdly, revival of Varnāśramadharma and Hindu orthodoxy is emphasised very pointedly, it was the cry of the time. The society under the Vākātaka imperialism was seeking to purge the abuses crept in under Kushāna rule. It was a Hindu Puritan Movement which was greatly fostered and which received a wide imperial implication under Pravarasēna I. Fourthly, under the Vākātakas the art of sculpture and the graphic art of Ajantā which lay under their direct government

¹ *ASW.I*, Vol. IV, p. 119

² *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Introduction, p. 15

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 213 f.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. XVII, p. 13

⁵ Below, p. 7.

⁶ Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, pp. 71 f.

⁷ Aiyangar, *Ancient India* (published by Sardesai), Vol. I, pp. 91 f.

⁸ Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, p. 5.

were vivified The credit of the revival of Hindu art which had been universally attributed by the present-day writers wholly to the Guptas, like the credit of Sanskrit revival, really belongs to the Vākātakas¹ Many of Jayaswal's theories about the Nāgas, Vākātakas and Pallavas have been shown by sober criticism to be untenable, but there is no doubt that his powerful advocacy of the Vākātakas brought that dynasty into prominence and served to obtain recognition for their achievements

Further progress in our knowledge of the history of the Vākātakas was made in 1939 by the discovery of a copper-plate grant of the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti II at Bāsim (or Vāśīm) in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha Before this discovery all writers who wrote on the Vākātakas believed that there was only one line of succession in the Vākātaka dynasty,² notwithstanding the explicit statement in the *Purāṇas* that Pravīna, the son of Vindhyaśakti, who is plainly identical with the Vākātaka *Samrāt* Pravarasēna I, had four sons, all of whom came to the throne,³ and the discrepant evidence of the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI which, mutilated as it is, did not seem to give quite the same line of succession as the copper-plate grants⁴ From the Bāsim plates, which I edited in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 f, I showed for the first time that the Vākātaka family branched off after the death of Pravarasēna I The statement in the *Purāṇas* that he had four sons is probably correct Two of these are known—(i) Gautamīputra, who predeceased his father and whose son Rudrasēna I succeeded Pravarasēna I; and (ii) Sarvasēna, whose son Vindhyaśakti II issued the Bāsim plates I also showed from the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI, which I re-deciphered from a fresh estampage⁵, that the record contained the names, now partly mutilated, of the princes Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśēna, the latter being evidently identical with Vindhyaśakti II, who issued the Bāsim plates It would seem, therefore, that the extensive empire of Pravarasēna I was divided among his sons after his death His grandson Rudrasēna I obtained Northern Vidarbha as his patrimony, and ruled from the old capital Purikā Sarvasēna, the second son, obtained Southern Vidarbha extending to the Gōdāvarī Where the other two sons were ruling is not yet known They may have held the country south of the Gōdāvarī as well as Dakṣiṇa Kōśala Their rule seems to have come to an end by the rise of the Early Rāshtrakūtas and the Śakas in Kuntala, and the Nalas and others in Dakṣiṇa Kōśala In my article on the Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura⁶, published in 1944, I showed that Mānānka, the progenitor of this Rāshtrakūta family, flourished about 375 A.D. and ruled from Mānapura which is probably identical with the modern village Mān on the Mān river in the Sātārā District of the Mahārāshtra State Later, from some coins discovered in the excavations at Kōṇḍāpur and other places I showed that a Śaka dynasty flourished in the Mahisha country comprising the southern portion of the former Hyderabad State and the adjoining territory⁷ It was founded by the Śaka king Māna who rose to power after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas These Early Rāshtrakūtas and the Śakas were thus the southern neighbours of the Vākātakas.

¹Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*, pp. 95 f

²Aiyangar thought that there was a dispute about succession after the death of Pravarasēna II, and Narēndrasēna probably took the kingdom from an elder brother *Ancient India*, p. 114.

³Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50

⁴For this see *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, p. 128. The names of Vākātaka princes mentioned in this Ajantā inscription have to be revised as shown below, pp. 104 f.

⁵*Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 14.

⁶*A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 f.

⁷*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. XI, pp. 1 f, Vol. XII, pp. 90 f, Vol. XV, pp. 115 f

Some more light on the history of the Vākātakas was also thrown by the inscriptions¹ and coins² of the Nalas, who once invaded their territory and occupied some portion of their dominion, and also by the records³ of the Sōmavamśīs, who were their feudatories ruling in Mēkalā

From this résumé of Vākātaka history it will be seen how our knowledge of this royal family has increased gradually during the last hundred and twenty-five years. There are still some dark corners of its history on which more light may be thrown by future discoveries, but it is now possible to give a fair outline of that history and to form a rather rough estimate of the achievements of the Vākātakas. For this an attempt is made in the following pages

¹*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f., Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f., XXVIII, pp. 12 f.

²*J.N.S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 29 f.

³*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 132 f.

CHAPTER II

VĀKĀTAKA CHRONOLOGY

THE Vākātaka chronology is still more or less conjectural, but there are a few fixed points. Though Dr. Jayaswal's view that the Kalachuri-Chēdi era was originally founded by the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti I¹ is untenable as none of the records of the Vākātakas themselves are dated in it, it is not unlikely that Vindhyaśakti I rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīra king Īśvaraśēna *ie* in *circa* 250 A.C. He may have ruled for about twenty years (*c.* 250 to 270 A.C.)² His son Pravaraśēna I is credited in the Purānas with a reign of sixty years³. This is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Āśvamēdhas and several Vājapēya and other Śrauta sacrifices. He may therefore have flourished from *c.* 270 to 330 A.C. Pravaraśēna I's long reign is also indicated by the fact that he was succeeded in the elder branch not by a son, but by a grandson, *viz.* Rudraśēna I. This latter prince may have ruled for about twenty years (*c.* 330 to 350 A.C.). When his son Prithivīśhēna I succeeded him, his family had been ruling over the kingdom for a hundred years (250 to 350 A.C.) and this is in keeping with the description in the Vākātaka grants that his treasure and army had been accumulating for a hundred years⁴. Prithivīśhēna I seems to have had a long reign, for he is said to have lived to see a succession of sons and grandsons. Besides, his son Rudraśēna II was a junior contemporary of the Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya (*c.* 380-413 A.C.), whose daughter Prabhāvatīguptā was married to him. Vincent Smith's conjecture that this matrimonial alliance of the Guptas and the Vākātakas occurred at the time of Chandragupta II's invasion of the territory of the Śaka Satraps of Gujarāt and Saurāshtra 'somewhere about 395 A.C.⁵' appears quite plausible. Rudraśēna II therefore may have come to the throne in *c.* 400 A.C. He had a short reign of about 5 years (*c.* 400 to 405 A.C.); for his dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā was acting as a regent for her son Yuvaiśya Divākarasēna for at least 13 years. Divākarasēna seems to have died soon after the issue of the Poonā plates of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā, for, no other grant of his reign has come down to us. He may therefore be referred to the period *c.* 405 to 420 A.C. He was succeeded by his younger brother Dāmōdaraśēna *alias* Pravaraśēna II, who had a long reign of about thirty years⁶ (*c.* 420 to 450 A.C.). His son Narēndrasēna and grandson Prithivīśhēna II may have each ruled for about twenty years, the former from *c.* 450 to 470 A.C., and the latter from *c.* 470 to 490 A.C. The period thus conjecturally assigned to Prithivīśhēna II's reign is corroborated by the date of his feudatory, the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra⁷, whose stone inscriptions have been found at Nachnā and Ganj in Madhya Pradesh. The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in the Gupta years 174 and 177⁸. His reign may have extended from G. 170

¹ *History of India*, etc., pp. 109 f.

² I adopt the reading समा षण्णवति भूत्वा पृथिवी तु समेष्यति given by a MS. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*. D.K.A., p. 48, f. n. 86.

³ Cf. विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् । भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टि पुरिका चनका च वै ॥ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁴ Cf. वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण in No. 3, line 11.

⁵ *J.R.A.S.*, (1914), pp. 317 f.

⁶ His Pāndhurnā plates (No. 14) are dated in the twenty-ninth regnal year.

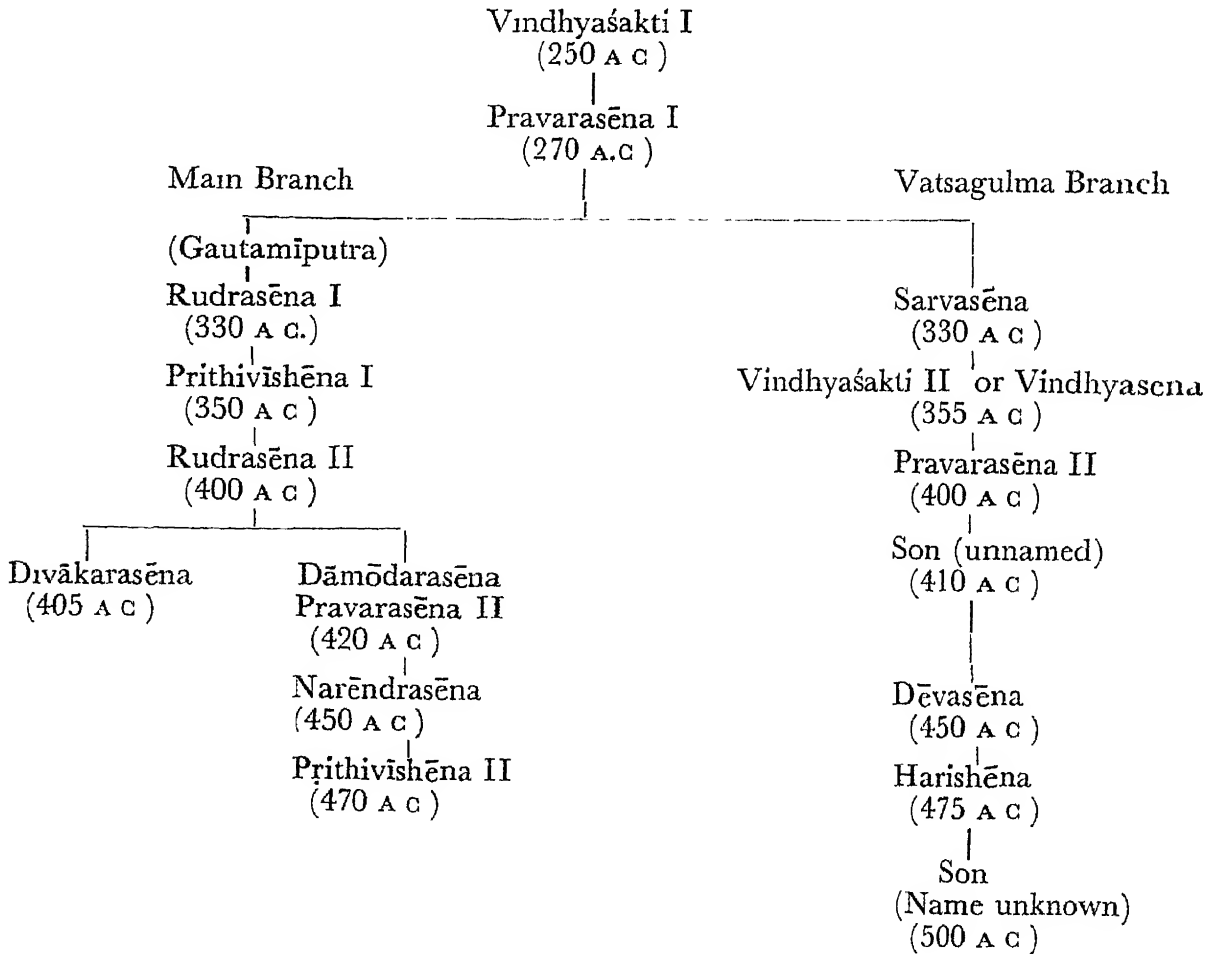
⁷ Vyāghra was not a feudatory of Prithivīśhēna I as supposed by some scholars. See below, pp. 89f.

⁸ For a detailed discussion of the identification of the era in which the dates of the Uchchakalpa kings are recorded, see my article entitled 'The Dates of Uchchakalpa Kings' in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f.

to G 190. Vyāghra, his father, was therefore probably ruling from c G 150 to G. 170, i.e. from c 470 to 490 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna II, to whom we have conjecturally assigned the same period 470-490 A.C.

As regards the Vatsagulma Branch, its founder Sarvasēna was a contemporary of Rudrasēna I of the Main Branch. He may therefore have flourished from c 330 to 355 A.C. His son Vindhvasēna or Vindhyaśakti II had a long reign of more than 37 years¹. He may have ruled for 40 or even 45 years. He may therefore be placed in the period c 355-400 A.C. His successor Pravarasēna II appears to have died young, for his son, whose name is unfortunately lost in the mutilated Ajantā inscription, came to the throne at the early age of 8 years. Pravarasēna II of this branch may therefore have ruled from c. 400 to 410 A.C., and his son from 410 to 450 A.C. Dēvasēna, who succeeded the latter, may be referred to the period 450 to 475 A.C., and his son Harishēna to c 475 to 500 A.C. If the story in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracharita* has a historical basis,² Harishēna may have been succeeded by his son, who ruled for about ten years (c 500 to 510 A.C.) Thereafter, the country was conquered by the Kalachuri king Kṛishnarāja.

The Vākātaka chronology³ may therefore be stated as follows —



The chronology given above agrees generally with that fixed by Dr Altekar, but differs from the one suggested by Dr R. C. Majumdar and adopted by Dr D. C. Sircar. I have examined the latter in an Appendix.

¹No 23.

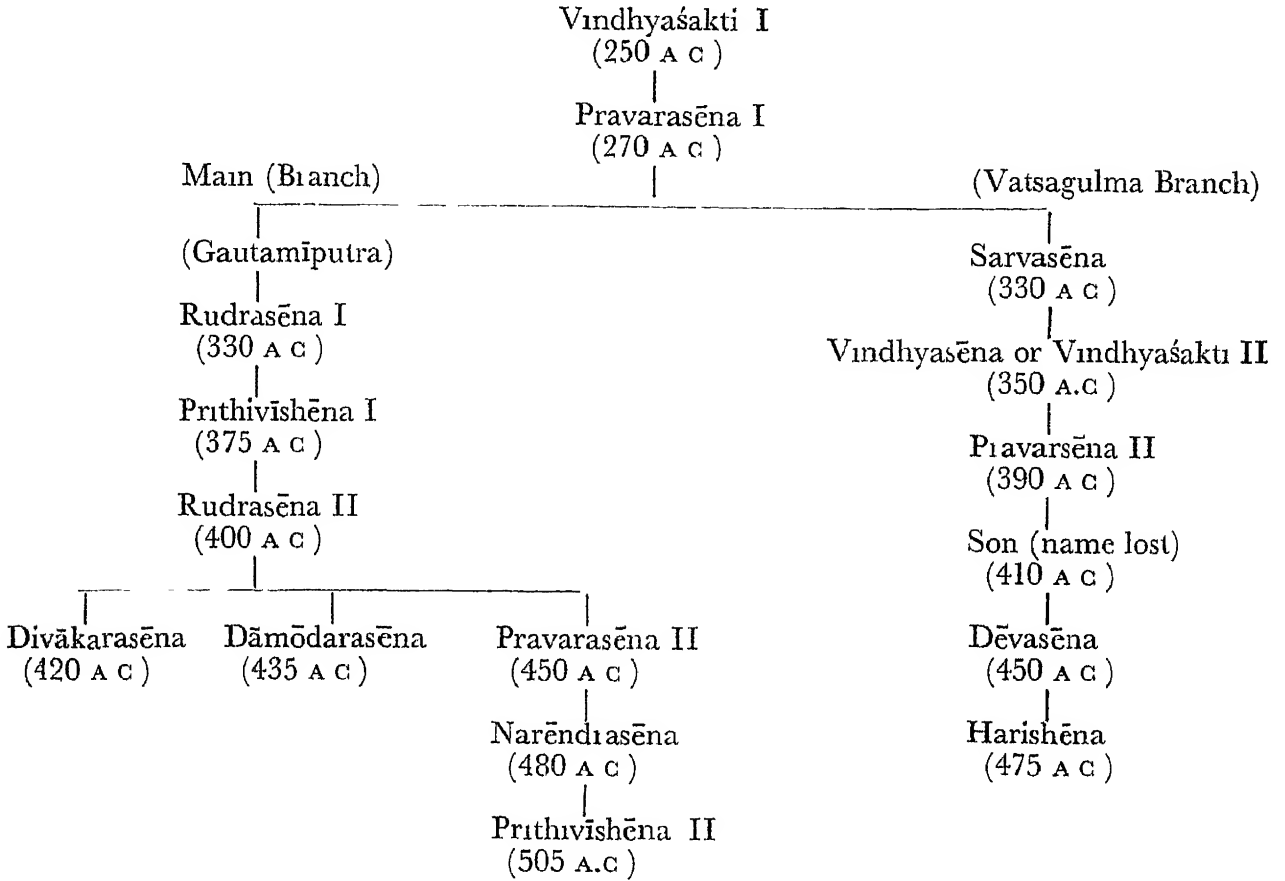
²See below, Chapter VI

³The years in the brackets give the approximate dates of accession

APPENDIX

A NOTE ON DR. R. C. MAJUMDAR'S GENEALOGY AND CHRONOLOGY OF THE VĀKĀTAKAS

Dr R C Majumdar has discussed the question of the genealogy and chronology of the Vākātakas in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol XII, pp 1 f He gives the following genealogy with the duration of each reign —



This chronology is based on the following evidence —

(i) The Riddhapur plates dated in the 19th regnal year of Pravarasēna II describe the dowager queen Prābhavatīguptā as *sāgra-varsha-śata-diva-putra-pautrā*. This passage means that Prābhavatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons. She appears to have survived her brother Kumāragupta whose reign came to an end in 455 A C. She was probably born about 365 A C. She became a widow about 420 A C when she had three minor sons Divākarasēna, Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna. She acted as regent for Divākarasēna for thirteen years. As the 100th year of Prābhavatīguptā fell before the 19th regnal year of Pravarasēna II, working backwards we get the following approximate years of the accession of her three sons—Divākarasēna 420 A C, Dāmōdarasēna 435 A C and Pravarasēna 450 A C.

(ii) Narēndrasēna of the Main Branch and Harishēna of the Bāsim Branch were contemporaries, being sixth in descent from their common ancestor Pravarasēna I. Narēndrasēna's son Prithivīshēna II was therefore junior to Harishēna. From the list of conquests attributed to Harishēna it seems that he overran the territory of the main Vākātaka branch. Prithivīshēna II, who is said to have rescued the fortunes of the family, possibly defeated Harishēna or his successor. He was the suzerain of Vyāghradēva who ruled in the Nachnā-Ganj territory.

I now proceed to examine this chronological scheme

The main plank in the chronological structure raised by Dr Majumdar is the description of Prabhāvatīguptā in the Riddhapur plates. The expression actually occurs in the following form —*sāgra-varsha-śata-diva-putra-pautrā*. This has been variously interpreted. The editor of the grant suggested the following two renderings (i) one who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (*in the end*) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years. Of these, the first rendering is unacceptable, as the simple word *diva* in that expression cannot yield the meaning 'who will in the end live in heaven'. The second rendering (with the change of *diva* into *divya*) is also equally open to objection as *divya* means 'heavenly', not 'renowned'. Dr Majumdar has ingeniously suggested the reading *jīva* in place of *diva*¹. He takes the expression *sāgra-varsha-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā* to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons living at the time. As this expression is pivotal for his theory, it requires to be examined carefully.

Dr Majumdar apparently takes the expression *sāgra-varsha-śata-jīva-putra-pautrā* as a compound consisting of two adjectival expressions *sāgra-varsha-śatā* and *jīva-putra-pautrā*, the first referring to her own age of full hundred years and the latter stating that her sons and grandsons were living at the time. As the compound stands, the expression *sāgra-varsha-śata-jīva* appears to be connected with *putra-pautrā*, the intended dissolution being *sāgra-varsha-śatam jīvanīti tādrīśā putrā pautrāś=cha yasyāḥ sā*. To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good fortune and so the epithet *jīva-putrā* is often noticed in the description of women in literature and inscriptions². The preceding expression indicating long life must evidently be connected with *jīva*. The expression refers to the long life of her sons and grandsons, not her own. To a Hindu widow like Prabhāvatīguptā, a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. It is not a source of joy. No widow is likely to boast of it. We must note in this connection that the expression occurs in Prabhāvatīguptā's own grant. The long life mentioned in it must therefore be taken to refer to her sons and grandsons.

It may, however, be asked, 'How could the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatīguptā have been a hundred years old in the 19th year of Pravarasēna II?' The question is easily answered. The intention is to express the wish that they would be long-lived. It is like the attributive adjective *āyushmat* or *dirghāyus* noticed in the description of small children³. It would be wrong to infer from it that the children were then long-lived. The expression in Prabhāvatīguptā's grant is of the same type. The only difference is that instead of an indefinite expression indicating long life like *dirghāyus*, one denoting a life of full hundred years is used. The expression must therefore be taken to mean that Prabhāvatīguptā had at that time sons and grandsons who, it was hoped, would be long-lived. It does not refer to the long life of Prabhāvatīguptā herself at all.

¹ This was first pointed out by Prof Jagan Nath in *P.I.H.C.*, Vol. IV, pp. 58 f.

² Cf. (i) वय जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागत । *Rigvēda*, X, 36, 9

(ii) जानासि मे जीवपुत्रे भाव नित्यमविग्रहे ।

क्रोशते न च गृह्णीते वचन मे सुयोधन । *Mahābhārata*, V, 144, 2

(iii) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्र रक्षस्व चाङ्गदम् ।

अन्तको रामरूपेण हत्वा नयति वालिनम् ॥ *Rāmāyana*, IV, 19, 11.

(iv) जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन in Nāsik Cave Inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 73

³ See e.g. the words of Kausalyā in the *Uttararāmacharita*, when she sees Lava being dragged away by the boys of Vālmiki's hermitage, eager to see the horse of Aśvamēdha--भगवदि जाणामि एद अणवेक्खती वच्च-जामि विअ । ता एदो अण्णदो भविअ पेक्खम्ह दाव गच्छमाण दीहावु । *Uttararāmacharita*, Act iv. Here Kausalyā uses *dirghāyusham* (long-lived) as an attribute of Lava, who was in his teens.

The foundation on which Dr Majumdar's theory is based is thus extremely shaky. I shall now proceed to examine the subsidiary evidence adduced by him.

(1) To account for Prabhāvatiguptā's age of more than a hundred years in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasēna II, Dr Majumdar supposes that the Vākātaka queen had three sons, Divākārasēna, Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna. According to him, she was born about 365 A.C. and became a widow in 420 A.C., i.e. when she was in the advanced age of 55 years. Her eldest son was then about six years old. If this is correct, we shall have to suppose that Prabhāvatī had no male children till she was nearly fifty years old, or that all her sons born before had died, and that after that age she had these three sons in close succession. This appears very unlikely. As Dr Majumdar has himself said, 'in all cases where nothing definite is known, we shall proceed on the basis of a reasonable and probable state of things'. No grants made by Dāmōdarasēna have been discovered. Besides, the description in the Riddhapur plates seems to point to his identity with Pravarasēna II. The expression *Vākātakānām Mahārāja-Dāmōdarasēna-Pravarasēna-janani* occurs in the description of Prabhāvatiguptā. It uses the phrase *Vākātakānām Mahārāja* in connection with the name of Dāmōdarasēna, but not with that of Pravarasēna II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākātaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākātaka king who actually reigned, it looks strange that the title should not have been prefixed to the name of Pravarasēna II, who was actually ruling at the time. Again, there is no reason why the name of Divākārasēna should have been omitted. It seems probable therefore that Dāmōdarasēna and Pravarasēna II were identical, and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession. From the Jāmb plates dated in the second regnal year of Pravarasēna II it seems clear that this prince had come of age when he began to reign. Prabhāvatiguptā's regency does not seem to have continued long after the issue of the Poonā plates dated in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy-prince Divākārasēna's reign. It does not therefore seem likely that Prabhāvatiguptā was a hundred years old in the nineteenth regnal year of Pravarasēna II.

(11) Dr. Majumdar says that Narēndrasēna of the main branch and Harishēna of the Vastagulma branch were contemporaries, because both of them were sixth in descent¹ from their common ancestor Pravarasēna I. We cannot, however, be certain about the contemporaneity of princes by counting generations, for, the reign-periods of kings vary greatly. Besides, though Narēndrasēna was sixth in descent from Pravarasēna I, one of his ancestors, viz., Gautamīputra did not reign. Narēndrasēna was therefore probably a contemporary of Dēvasēna. Consequently, Prithivishēna II and Harishēna may have ruled in the same period. As the latter claims to have conquered Avantī or Mālhwā, he must have overrun the territory of the main branch. He had probably annexed it after the death of Prithivishēna II.

(111) As for the restoration of the fortune of his family by Prithivishēna II, that need not refer to any struggle with Harishēna. We know that there were wars between the main branch of the Vākātakas and the Nalas of Pushkarī. Bhavadatta of the Nala dynasty had overrun the Vākātaka territory and occupied Nandivardhana, the erstwhile Vākātaka capital. The Nalas admit that their own capital was devastated by the enemy some time before the reign of Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadattavarman, who resettled it. It

¹ Really speaking, it was Prithivishēna II who was a contemporary of Harishēna. See the Genealogical Table on p. vi.

is easy to surmise that this enemy, though not named in the inscription, was the contemporary Vākāṭaka king. The restoration of the fortune of the Vākāṭaka family mentioned in the Bālāghāṭ plates probably refers to the reoccupation of Northern Vidarbha by Pṛithivīśeṇa II.

The scheme of the genealogy and chronology of the Vākāṭakas proposed by Dr. Majumdar thus goes against the available evidence of the Vākāṭaka and other inscriptions and is therefore untenable.

CHAPTER III

THE HOME OF THE VĀKĀTAKAS

THE Vākātakas are generally believed to be of northern origin. Thus, Vincent Smith, in his article on the Vākātakas, says, 'If Vindhyaśakti and Pravarasēna are the same persons as Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra of the Purānas, the origin of the family must be sought somewhere in the area now known as Central India'. Jayaswal went one step further and derived the dynastic name Vākātaka from *Vakāta* or *Vākāṭa* on the analogy of *Trakūta*, which is plainly formed from *Trikūta*. He identified this Vākāta, the supposed home-land of the Vākātakas, with Bāgāt, a village in the northernmost part of the former Ōrhhā State, six miles east of Chirgaon in the District of Jhānsī. 'The Brāhmana', says Jayaswal, 'who, according to the Purānas, was the first anointed king and the founder of the dynasty and who assumed the appropriate appellation of Vindhyaśakti, adopted the name of his own town as his dynastic title'. The northern origin of the Vākātakas has been tacitly admitted by almost all scholars who have written on this subject¹. I therefore propose to examine critically the evidence on which it is based.

(1) The main basis of this theory of the northern origin of the Vākātakas is the following passage in the Purānas² —

नृपान्वैदेशिकाश्चापि भविष्यास्तु निबोधत ।
शेषस्य नागराजस्य पुत्रः परपुरञ्जयः ॥
भोगो भविष्यते राजा नृपो नागकुलोद्बह ।
सदाचन्द्रस्तु चन्द्राशो द्वितीयो नखवास्तथा ॥
धनधर्मा ततश्चापि चतुर्थो वज्ररः स्मृतः ।
भूतिनन्दस्ततश्चापि वैदिशे तु भविष्यति ॥
तस्य भ्राता यवीयास्तु नाम्ना नन्दियशा किल ।
तस्यान्वये भविष्यन्ति राजानस्ते त्रयस्तु वै ॥
दौहित्र शिशुको नाम पुरिकाया नृपोऽभवत् ।
विन्ध्यशक्तिस्ततश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ॥
भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टि पुरीं काञ्चनका च वै ।
यक्ष्यते वाजपेयैश्च समाप्तवरदक्षिणैः ॥
तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपाः ॥

This passage is introduced with the words, 'Hear also the future rulers of Vidiśā', and mentions towards the close the names of Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra, who are undoubtedly kings of the Vākātaka dynasty. It has, therefore, been supposed that Vindhyaśakti and Pravīra ruled somewhere in Central India, not far from Vidiśā, modern Bēsnagar near Bhilsā. This passage mentions several kings, but none of them, with the exception of the two mentioned above, are known from any other source. Besides, it is not clear how far the scope of the introductory statement नृपान्वैदेशिकाश्चापि भविष्यास्तु निबोधत extends. That all the kings mentioned in this passage were not of Vidiśā was realised by Pargiter also, who gave the heading 'Dynasties of Vidiśā, etc.' to it. It is noteworthy that the passage introduces Śīsuka, the ruler of Purikā, in verse 5. Purikā, we know from the

¹ See e.g. *NHIP*, Vol VI, p. 96. The southern origin of the Vākātakas was first pointed out by me in *NUJ.*, No. 3, pp. 22 f.

² *DKA*, pp. 49-50.

*Harivaṃśa*¹, was situated at the foot of the Rikshavat mountain, which is usually identified with the Sātpudā range. The town was therefore situated south of the Vindhyas. Pravīra (or Pravarasēna I), the son of Vindhyaśakti, is mentioned in this passage immediately after Śīśuka, probably because that Vākātaka prince succeeded the latter in that territory. It may be noted in this connection that Purikā appears to be mentioned as a capital of Pravīra in the next verse. Pargiter gives the following reading of it —

विन्ध्यशक्तिसुतश्चापि प्रवीरो नाम वीर्यवान् ।
भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टि पुरीं काञ्चनकां च वै ॥

If this reading is adopted, the name of the Vākātaka capital would be Kāñchanakā, but this reading would make the particle *cha* meaningless and inserted in the line merely for *pādapūrāṇa*. I, therefore, adopt Jayaswal's ingenious emendation भोक्ष्यते च समा. षष्टि पुरिका चनका च वै meaning that Pravarasēna ruled from two capitals Purikā and Chanakā. The verse, if thus read, would satisfactorily explain why the Vākātaka king is mentioned immediately after Śīśuka. He evidently annexed the latter's kingdom and made Purikā a second capital of his empire, which thus extended to the Vindhyas in the north. This passage in the *Purāṇas* does not, therefore, give any indication that the Vākātakas originally belonged to Central India.

(2) Another argument which is sometimes advanced to prove the northern origin of the Vākātakas is the identification of Rudradēva mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription of Samudragupta with Rudrasēna I of the Vākātaka dynasty. This implies the existence of the Vākātaka empire in North India during the reigns of the early kings, Rudrasēna I and his grandfather Pravarasēna I. The identification is, however, extremely unlikely. Rudradēva, who is mentioned in that inscription as a king of Āryāvarta exterminated by Samudragupta, must have been previously ruling north of the Vindhyas. We have, however, no inscription of the reign of the Vākātaka Rudrasēna I or of any earlier king of the dynasty from North India. The only record of Rudrasēna I discovered so far is the stone inscription found at Dēotēk in the Chāndā District of Vidarbha². Rudrasēna I was, therefore, ruling in Vidarbha, not in Central India. Besides, as Dr. Altekar has already observed,³ if Rudrasēna I had been exterminated by Samudragupta, it is extremely unlikely that his son Prithivīshēna I would ever have selected a Gupta princess (*viz.* Prabhāvatīguptā) to be his daughter-in-law. For all these reasons, the identification of Rudradēva of the Allāhābād pillar inscription with the Vākātaka Rudrasēna I is extremely unlikely and it cannot substantiate the northern origin of the Vākātakas.

(3) The surest indication of the rule of any king in a particular territory is the original findspot of his stone inscriptions. Copper-plates and coins are easily carried from place to place and are sometimes found hundreds of miles away from their original places. Stone inscriptions are generally not transported in this manner. Now, there is not a single inscription of any Vākātaka king found north of the Vindhyas. Two stone inscriptions⁴ of a prince named Vyāghradēva, who describes himself as 'meditating on the feet of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna' have, however, been discovered in Central India—one at Nachnē-ki-talāi in the former Jasō State, and the other at Ganj in the former

¹ Cf. *Harivaṃśa*, Vishnuparvan, 38, 22, ऋक्षवन्तं समभितस्तीरे तत्र निरामये । निर्मिता सा पुरी राज्ञा पुरिका नाम नामत ॥ Rikshavat is mentioned in the *Vishnupurāṇa* as 'the source of the Tāpī, Payōshnī and Nirvindhya' and therefore corresponds to the Sātpudā mountain. Cf. तापीपयोष्णीनिविन्ध्याप्रमुखा ऋक्षसम्भवा ॥

²No. 1

³*N.H.I.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 105

⁴Nos. 20-21 and 22

Ajaigadh State This Prithivīshēna is identified by some scholars with the first Vākātaka king of that name, who flourished in the period 350-400 A C These records are sometimes cited to prove that the Vākātakas had an empire north of the Vindhya prior to that of the Guptas The paleographic evidence which has been recently adduced to prove the early age of these inscriptions¹ is not conclusive Besides, there is no other vestige of the extension of Vākātaka supremacy in that region as early as the reign of Prithivīshēna I On the other hand, Vyāghradēva of the aforementioned Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions is probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince of the same name mentioned in the grants of his son Jayanātha who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A C² His suzerain Prithivīshēna was therefore the second Vākātaka king of that name who flourished from about 470 A C to 490 A C That the Vākātakas had extended their supremacy north of the Vindhya during the reign of Prithivīshēna II's father Narēndrasēna is also known from the expression *Kōsalā-Mekalā-Mālav-ābhyaarchhita-sāsanaḥ* used in the Bālāghāt plates to describe Narēndrasēna³ This is again confirmed by the evidence of the Pāṇḍavavamsī king Bharatalala who covertly refers to his suzerain Narēndrasēna⁴ This Bharatabala ruled over Mēkalā as stated expressly in the grant No other king of the name of Vyāghra is known to have ruled in Central India in the age of the Vākātakas Vyāghradēva of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions therefore belonged to the Uchchakalpa dynasty and was a feudatory of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna II and not of Prithivīshēna I, who flourished nearly 120 years earlier These inscriptions do not, therefore, evidence any early rule of the Vākātakas, much less their home-land, north of the Vindhya

(4) As stated before, the find-spots of copper-plates and coins afford no sure proof of the rule of any dynasty in a particular territory Still, their evidence also has to be considered in the absence of other proofs The only copper-plate grant of the Vākātakas said to have been found in North India is that recorded on the so-called Indore plates⁵ of Pravaraśēna II These plates were found in the collection of the late Pandit Vāmanaśāstrī Islāmpuṅkar It is well known that the Pandit was engaged in collecting old Sanskrit manuscripts and historical records from different parts of the country I have shown elsewhere that two other grants⁶ found in his collection at Indore were originally from Khāndēsh and the places mentioned in them can also be located in Khāndēsh As all other copper-plate grants of the Vākātakas discovered so far originally came from Vidarbha, the Indore copper-plate grant also, in all probability, belongs to the same part of the country None of the places mentioned in it have been located in North India⁷

As for coins, Jayaswal drew attention to some coins of North Indian fabric which he attributed to the Vākātakas The coin with the legend *Pravarasenasya*⁸ bears, according to Jayaswal, the date 76, and that having the legend *Rudra*,⁹ the date 100 Jayaswal referred these dates to the so-called Kalachuri-Chēdi era commencing in 248 A C, which, accord-

¹In *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 179, n. 1 D. C. Sircar has drawn attention to the triangular *v* and the old forms of *j* and *t*, which, according to him, evidence an early date for Vyāghradēva's feudatory Prithivīshēna, but the evidence is inconclusive See below pp. 89 f. See also my article on this subject in *Dr. S. K. Belvalkar Felicitation Volume*, pp. 286 f.

²*C.I.I.*, Vol. III, Nos. 26 and 27.

³No. 18, pp. 27-28.

⁴No. 19, lines 31-34.

⁵No. 9.

⁶*C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 f.

⁷I have identified some of them in the Bālāghāt District See below, p. 40.

⁸*History of India*, etc., pp. 52 f.

⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 108 f.

ing to him, was really started by the Vākātakas. If his readings of the legends and dates and the identification of the era are correct, these coins may indicate the extension of Vākātaka rule north of the Vindhya during the reigns of the early Vākātaka rulers Pravarasēna I and Rudrasēna I. But Jayaswal's readings and interpretations have been disputed by other scholars. Dr. Altekar has shown that the coin attributed to Pravarasēna is really of Vīrasēna. The symbols which Dr. Jayaswal supposed to be the date 76 are really the branches of a tree in railing. As for the coins of Rudrasēna I, what he took to be the letters *Rudra* is really the *tri-ratna* symbol. The symbol supposed to denote the date 100 is clearly a *svastika*¹. So these coins cannot be attributed to any Vākātaka king. In fact, the Vākātakas did not strike any coins, but used the currency of the Guptas throughout their kingdom. Several gold coins of Chandragupta II have been found in Vidarbha. The silver coins of the Western Kshatrapas also may have been current in their territory. Some hoards of Kshatrapa coins have been found in the Chhindwādā and other districts of Madhya Pradesh. Again, even supposing that the readings of the dates on these coins are correct, they cannot be referred to the era of 248 A.C. That era was not started by the Vākātakas² and has not been used in dating any Vākātaka grant. All inscriptions of the Vākātakas are dated in regnal years. As a matter of fact, the era was introduced in Vidarbha *after* the downfall of the Vākātakas. The only date of that era found in Vidarbha occurs in the recently discovered Nandivardhana plates of Svāmīrāja, who was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri king Krishnarāja³.

The foregoing discussion must have made it plain that neither the era nor the coins are of the Vākātakas. There is thus not an iota of evidence to prove that the Vākātakas originally hailed from North India.

I shall now proceed to state some evidence which indicates that the original home of the dynasty was in the Deccan.

(1) The earliest mention of the name *Vākātaka* occurs in the following record⁴ incised on a fragment of an octagonal pillar at Amarāvati in the Guntur District of Andhra State. It is in Prakrit and is in characters of about the third century A.C.

Inscription No 126—⁵

Line 1	गामे वाथवस गहपतिस वाकाटकस गहपतिकिनि
„ 2	ना थेरेन बोधिकेन भरियाय चमुनाय सभतुकेहि
„ 3	केहि सनातिमितबधवेहि च अपनो आयुवधनिक

The inscription is unfortunately fragmentary, but its extant portion shows that it was intended to record the gift of a *grihapati* (householder) named Vākātaka and his two wives, one of whom was named Chamunā. The gift was made by them at the instance of a Thēra (Buddhist Bhikshu) named Bōdhika and for the longevity of themselves and their agnates (*jñāts*), friends and relatives. Vākātaka is used here as a personal name and not as a family name. This record shows that the *grihapati* Vākātaka had gone to Amarāvati with his wives to make donations there for the longevity of himself, his wives and relatives. The name of the native village was mentioned in the beginning of the first line, but it is now lost. In view of the difficulties of travelling in those days it would not be

¹ *JNSI*, Vol V, pp 130 f.

² It was probably started by the Abhira king Īśvarasēna. *CII*, Vol IV, pp xxiii f.

³ *Ibid*, Vol. IV, pp. 611 f.

⁴ *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 267 and plate.

⁵ This number is cited from *Amarāvati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum*, p. 304.

wrong to infer that this *grihapati* Vākātaka was the resident of a country not very far from Amarāvati. It may be noted in this connection that the inscriptions discovered at Amarāvati generally mention countries, rivers and places of South India such as Dravida, the Krishnā, the Godāvarī, Dhanakataka and Kantakaśaila.¹ The only places of North India which I have noticed in the 126 inscriptions of Amarāvati that have been published so far are Rājagriha and Pātaliputra, mentioned as places of residence of monks who or whose disciples made certain donations at Amarāvati. The inference that the *grihapati* Vākātaka mentioned in inscription No. 126 was a resident of South India would thus appear reasonable.

On palaeographic grounds this inscription has been referred to the third century A.C. The *grihapati* Vākātaka mentioned in it was not therefore far removed in time from Vindhyaśakti I, who seems to have come into prominence about 250 A.C. This *grihapati* was in all probability the progenitor of the Vākātaka family even as Gupta was of the Gupta family. What social or official status he had, we do not know; but he was apparently of sufficient importance to be regarded as the progenitor of the family. This Vākātaka was then a follower of Buddhism, but later on he or his descendants seem to have changed their religious faith and become staunch supporters of the Vedic religion. Several instances of such change of faith can be cited from the ancient history of India.

(2) There are several other indications of the southern origin of the Vākātakas. In the formal portions of Vākātaka grants there occur several technical terms which are noticed in the Hirahadgalli and Mayidavōlu plates of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Some of these may be given here.

Expressions in the Bāsīm plates	Corresponding expressions in the Pallava grants
1. अरट्टसविणयिक	अरट्टसविनयिक
2. अलवणकेण्णकखनक	अलोणगुलच्छोभ
3. अप्पक्खिखरगहण	अबूधदधिगहणं
4. अभडप्पावेस	अभडपपेस
5. अपरपरगोबलिबद्धं	अपारपरबलिबद्धगहण
6. अखट्टाचोल्लकवेणेसिक	अकरयोल्लकविनेसिखट्टावास

These similarities are surely not accidental. They presuppose some connection of the Vākātakas with the Pallavas. It is also possible that both these dynasties borrowed these expressions from earlier Sātavāhana inscriptions. No such technical terms have, however, been noticed in any early grants of North India.

(3) Again, the titles *Hārīti-putra* and *Dharmamahānāja*, mentioned in connection with the earliest Vākātaka kings Pravarasēna I, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti II in the Bāsīm plates, unmistakably point to the southern origin of the family, for, these titles are noticed in the early grants of only southern dynasties such as the Vinukada Sātakarnis, the Pallavas, the Kadambas and the Early Chālukyas. They are not found in the early grants of any northern dynasty.

(4) Finally, the patronage that the Vākātakas extended to a ministerial family of South India for several generations may also indicate their southern origin. This family was named Vallūra after the village Vallūra 'in the southern region which was its original place of residence'. This place has not yet been definitely identified, but it may be the same as modern Vēlur which lies about 30 miles north by east of Hyderābād in the Yelgandal

¹ See the list of geographical names *ibid.* pp. 332 f.

District of the former Hyderābād State. The progenitor of this family was Yajñapati. His son Dēva, who was a contemporary of Vindhyaśakti and perhaps also of his son Pravarasēna I, is described in the Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscription as a very pious Brāhmaṇa, at whose instance the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in the performance of religious rites. From Vākāṭaka inscriptions also we have evidence of a phenomenal religious activity in this period. Pravarasēna I, who was the real founder of Vākāṭaka imperial power, is said to have performed several sacrifices such as Agnishtōma, Āptōryāma, Ukthya, Shōḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Bṛihaspatisava and Sādyaskra, besides four Aśvamēdhas. No other early king of North or South India, except Mādhavavarman I of the Vishṇukunḍin dynasty, is known to have performed so many Śrauta sacrifices. It is not unlikely that he was encouraged in this by this pious Brāhmaṇa minister Dēva. Ravi, the grandson of Dēva, is said to have established his sway over the whole territory (*kṛit-ādhipatyam vishayē samagrē*). He was a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasēna who founded a separate kingdom with Vatsagulma as its capital. Ravi may have assisted Sarvasēna in extending the limits of his patrimony by making fresh conquests. The last two known members of this family, Hastibhōja and Varāhadēva, were the capable ministers of the Vākāṭaka kings Dēvasēna and Harishēṇa respectively. It will be seen that the two families—ministerial and royal—which were intimately connected with each other for several generations, rose to distinction in the same period. The ministerial family hailed from Vallūra which, as shown above, may be identified with Vēlur in the Central Deccan. The original habitation of the *gṛihapati* Vākāṭaka cannot be determined owing to the unfortunate mutilation of Inscription No. 126 at Amarāvati, but it was also probably situated in the Central Deccan. This also affords the most plausible explanation of how the Vākāṭakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas.

The evidence adduced above will, I hope, convince readers that **the original home of the Vākāṭakas was in South India.**

CHAPTER IV

EARLY RULERS

THE middle of the third century A C marks the commencement of an important epoch in the history of South India. The Sātavāhanas, who had held a major part of the peninsula for an unusually long period of more than four centuries and a half, disappear from the stage of history about this time. Pulumāvi IV is the last known king of the Andhra (i.e. Sātavāhana) dynasty mentioned in the *Purānas*. His rock inscription has been found at Adōni in the Bellāry District of Andhra State¹, while his potin coins have been discovered at Tarhālā in the Akōlā District of Vīdarbha². He therefore probably ruled over an extensive kingdom stretching from the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadrā in the south. After his downfall in *circa* 250 A C, several small kingdoms appear to have risen in the different provinces which had previously been under his sway. The *Purānas* say that on the dismemberment of the Andhra Empire the servants of the Andhras, viz. the Śrīparvatīyas, Andhras, Ābhīras, Gardabhīlas, Śakas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Murundas and Hūnas would rise to power³. This statement has, to a certain extent, been corroborated by the discovery of inscriptions and coins. We know that the Ābhīras carved out a kingdom for themselves in Northern Mahārāshtra, Kōnkan and Gujarāt,⁴ and the Śrīparavatiyas or the Ikshvākus did the same in the lower Krishnā valley⁵. Again, we have numismatic evidence of the rise of a Śaka dynasty in the southern parts of the Hyderabad State after the overthrow of the Sātavāhanas⁶. The founder of this dynasty was Māna Mahisha, whose power and prestige entitled him to a mention in the *Purānas*. He had the status of *Mahā-senāpati* probably under the Sātavāhanas. Later, he threw off their yoke, but continued the title for some time on his coins. The Purānic statement about the rise of the Gardabhīlas, Yavanas, Tushāras, Murundas and Hūnas remains to be verified by the discovery of inscriptions and coins. They may have usurped power in the provinces north of the Narmadā. As regards the Śakas, who also are mentioned in the same context, we have evidence of an independent Śaka kingdom in Central India, different from that of the Western Kshatrapas of Saurāshtra. It was founded by the *Mahādandanāyaka* Śrīdharavarman⁷. Strange as it may appear, the *Purānas* make no mention of the Vākātakas among the dynasties that rose after the downfall of the Sātavāhanas. They no doubt mention Vīndhyaśakti, but they place his rise after the Kīlakīla (or Kōlikīla) kings who succeeded the Sātavāhanas. We have, however, no other evidence of the rule of these Kīlakīla or Kōlikīla kings⁸.

Vīndhyaśakti I is the earliest known king of the Vākātaka dynasty. He is mentioned in the aforementioned passage of the *Purānas* and also in an inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā⁹. The latter record calls him 'the banner of the Vākātaka family' and gives the

¹*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 153 f. The editor of this record ascribes it to Pulumāvi II, Vāsishthīputra, but the palaeographical evidence shows that it belongs to the reign of the last king, Pulumāvi IV.

²*JNSI*, Vol. II, pp. 92 f. The king's name occurs as Puluhāmavi on the coins found at Tarhālā.

³*DKA*, pp. 45 f.

⁴*CII*, Vol. IV, pp. xxxiii f.

⁵*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XX, pp. 1 f.

⁶*JNSI*, Vol. XV, pp. 1 f.

⁷*CII*, Vol. IV, pp. xxxviii f.

⁸Cf. तत् कोलिकिलेभ्यश्च विन्ध्यशक्तिर्भविष्यति । *DKA*, p. 48.

⁹No. 25, line 1.

valuable information that he was a *dvija*, which usually means a Brāhmana. Later Vākātaka inscriptions mention Vishnuvridha as the *gōtra* of the Vākātakas. How Vindhyaśakti I was related to the *grīhapati* Vākātaka mentioned in an inscription at Amarāvati we do not know, but it is not unlikely that like the Śaka *Mahāsenāpati* Māna, he also had previously occupied a position of power and vantage under the Sātavahānas, which facilitated his rise to royal power.

Scholars are not agreed about the original home of this Vindhyaśakti. The Purāṇic passage referred to above is supposed to indicate that he was a ruler of Vidiśā¹. This is not correct. The *Purāṇas* mention not Vindhyaśakti I, but his son Pravarasēna I (under the name Pravīra) in connection with the rulers of Vidiśā, because, as shown below, the latter annexed the kingdom of Purikā where a scion of the Nāga family of Vidiśā was ruling. Vindhyaśakti's home was probably situated in the Central Deccan not far from Vallūra, the original habitation of the ministerial family which faithfully served the Vākātakas for several generations. The *Purāṇas* mention two capitals Purikā and Chanakā of his son Pravarasēna I². Of these, Chanakā was probably the older capital from which Vindhyaśakti was ruling. It has not been identified.

The Ajantā inscription highly glorifies Vindhyaśakti I. He is said to have augmented his power by fighting great battles. When enraged, he was irresistible. He had a large cavalry, by means of which he exacted submission from his enemies. We have no reliable information about the extent of his kingdom. His name is supposed to be a *biruda*, suggesting the extension of his kingdom to the Vindhyan region, but according to the Purāṇic account this was achieved not by him but by his son Pravarasēna I. We may, however, well believe that starting from his base in the Central Deccan he raided and occupied parts of Vīdarbha. The Sanskrit and Prakrit charters of the Vākātakas omit Vindhyaśakti's name and start the genealogy of the royal family invariably from his son Pravarasēna I. Again, no regal title is prefixed to his name even in the Ajantā inscription. From this it has been surmised that Vindhyaśakti I received no formal coronation³. This is hardly convincing. The reason for the omission of his name seems to be that the real founder of Vākātaka power was not he, but his son Pravarasēna I, who greatly extended his dominion. The Ajantā inscription which mentions his name is in verse. It mentions no regal titles in connection with the names of other rulers also. So there is no reason to doubt that Vindhyaśakti carved out an independent kingdom for himself in ancient Vīdarbha. He probably flourished in the period 250-270 A.C. In some *Purāṇas* he is credited with a reign of 96 years, but the period, if correct, may rather represent his long life⁴.

Pravarasēna I, who succeeded Vindhyaśakti I, was the most renowned king of this dynasty. He extended his dominion in different directions. He carried his arms to the Narmadā in the north and annexed the kingdom of Purikā. The *Purāṇas* say that a king named Śīśuka, who was the daughter's son of a Nāga king of Vidiśā, was ruling there. Pravarasēna deposed him and incorporated his kingdom into his own dominion. He then transferred his capital to Purikā. This city was situated somewhere at the foot of the Rikshavat or Sātpudā mountain⁵. We have no definite knowledge about the other

¹ *N.H.I.P.*, p. 96.

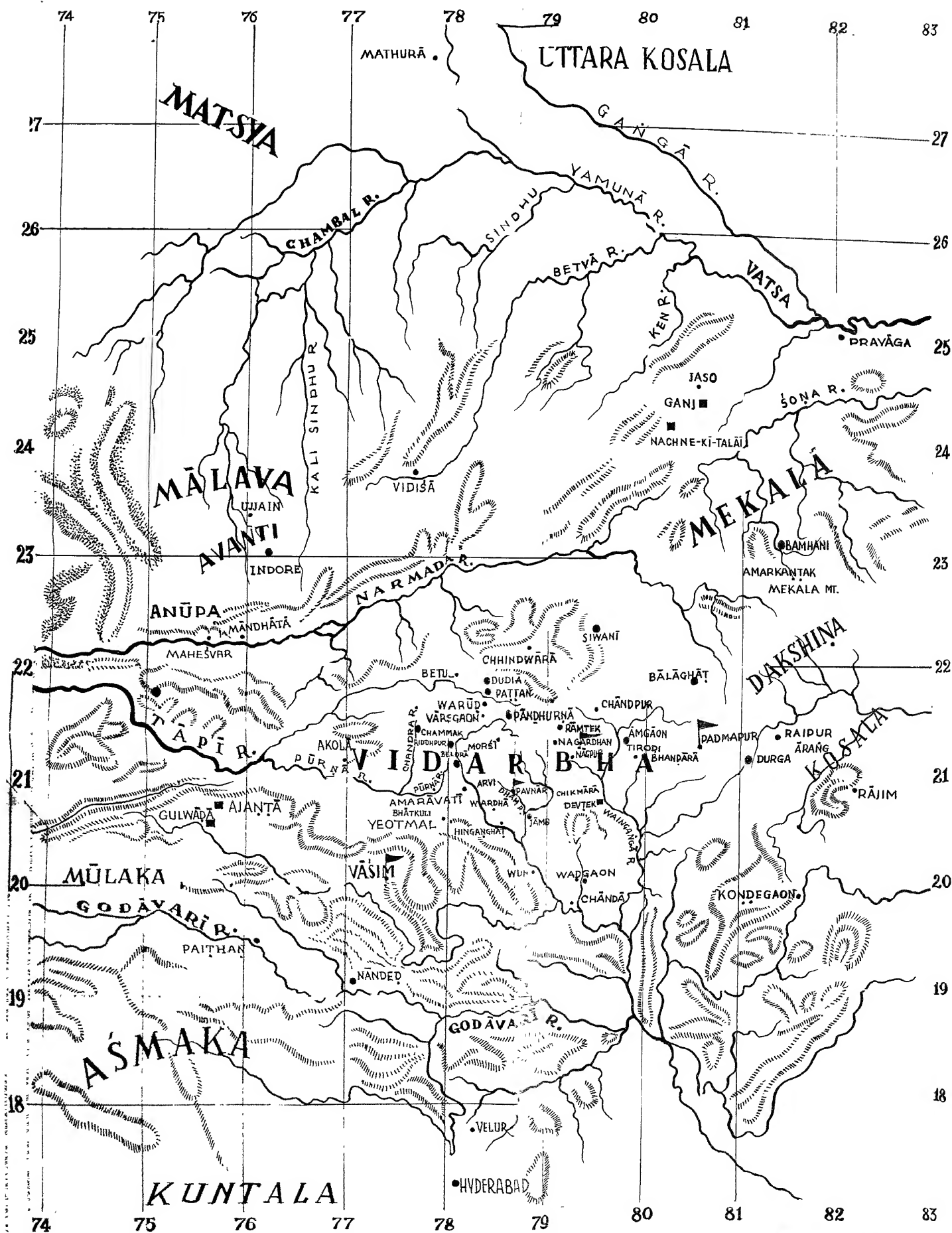
² *D.K.A.*, p. 50. I adopt Dr. Jayaswal's amendment भोक्ष्यते च समा षष्टि पुरिका चनका च वै ।

³ *N.H.I.P.*, Vol. VI, p. 97.

⁴ Cf. समा षण्णवति सृत्वा पृथिवी तु समेष्यति ॥ in a Ms. of *Vāyupurāṇa*. *D.K.A.*, p. 48.

⁵ Cf. *Harivamśa*, Vishnuparvan, 38, 22—ऋक्षवन्त समभितस्तीरे तत्र निरामये । निमिता सा पुरी राजा पुरिका नाम नामत ॥ Rikshavat is mentioned in the *Vishnupurāṇa* as the source of the Tāpī, Payōshni and Nirvindhya, and therefore corresponds to the Sātpudā mountain.

MAP SHOWING PLACES MENTIONED IN VĀKĀṬAKA INSCRIPTIONS



● FIND-SPOTS OF COPPER PLATES. ■ FIND-SPOTS OF STONE INSCRIPTIONS. ▲ CAPITAL.

SCALE - 1 INCH = 13 MILES

campaigns of Pravarasēna. It has been suggested that he succeeded in imposing his suzerainty over the Western Kshatrapas Rudrasimha II and Yaśodāman II, who were his contemporaries, and who, unlike their predecessors, did not assume the title of *Mahākshatrapa*¹. There is, however, as yet no definite proof of this. The break in the use of the higher title by the Western Kshatrapas may be due to the rise of an independent kingdom in Central India under the Śaka king Śrīdhavarman. There is also no evidence to show that Pravarasēna I carried his victorious arms beyond the Narmadā and incorporated Baghēlkhand into his dominion². The only proof of Vākātaka suzerainty in Baghēlkhand in this early period is furnished by the lithic records, at Nachnā and Ganj, of Vyāghradēva, who calls himself a feudatory of the Vākātaka Prithivīshēna, but as shown elsewhere, these records belong to a much later age, Prithivīshēna mentioned therein being the second Vākātaka king of that name who flourished in *circa* 470-490 A.C.

It is also unlikely that Pravarasēna I made any conquests in Northern Mahārāshtra, Gujarāt and Konkan, which were ruled by the powerful Ābhīra kings. He may have succeeded in conquering parts of North Kuntala comprising Kolhāpur, Sātārā and Sholāpur Districts of the Mahārāshtra State. Eastward, he may have carried his arms to Dakṣiṇa Kōsala, Kalinga and Andhra, which were ruled by petty princes in this period. The paucity of records of this age makes it difficult to state his conquests or the exact limits of his dominion.

Pravarasēna I was a pious man and a staunch supporter of the Vedic religion. He performed a number of Vedic sacrifices. The records of his successors almost invariably mention his performance of the seven Sōma sacrifices³ as well as four Aśvamēdhas. The *Purānas* make a special mention of his Vājapēya sacrifices which were marked by liberal gifts to Brāhmanas⁴. Thereafter he assumed the unique imperial title *Samrāt*, which is mentioned in several records of his descendants⁵. Like the early Pallava kings, he took also the title *Dharmamahārāja* indicative of his piety and righteous conquests⁶. Like the Vinhukada Sātakaṇis⁷, he called himself *Hārīti-putra*, a descendant of Hārītī. These two titles are indicative of his association with southern kings.

By his conquests and performance of Aśvamēdha sacrifices Pravarasēna I proclaimed his supremacy in the Deccan. He sought to strengthen his position still further by means of a matrimonial alliance with the Bhāraśivas of North India. The latter belonged to the Nāga race and may originally have been reigning in Vidarbha, for, an early stone inscription of a Bhāra king named Bhagadatta (*circa* second century A.C.) has been found at Pauni in the Bhandārā District of Vidarbha⁸. Subsequently they appear to have raided North India, where they established themselves. Copper coins of their *Adhūrāja* (Emperor)

¹ *NHIP.*, Vol. VI, pp. 58 f., p. 100.

² *Ibid.*, p. 100. There is also no evidence that the empire of Pravarasena I extended to Bundēlkhand in the north as stated in *HCIIP*, Vol. II, p. 220.

³ The seven Sōma sacrifices (called *sapta Sōma-samsthāh*) are usually named as follows — Agnishtōma, Atyagnishtōma, Ukthya, Shōdaśin, Vājapēya, Atrātra and Āptōryāma. Vākātaka inscriptions mention all these except Atyagnishtōma and add Brihaspatisava and Sādyaskra to them. Cf. No. 3, lines 1 f. No. 23 mentions Jyōtishtōma, but omits Ukthya, Shōdaśin and Atrātra.

⁴ *DKA*, p. 50. A MS. of the *Vāyupurāna* mentions Vājumēdhas in place of Vājapēyas.

⁵ The performer of a Vājapēya sacrifice is entitled to assume the title *Samrāt*. Cf. राजा वै राज-सूयेनेष्ट्वा भवति सम्राट् वाजपेयेन ॥ *Satapatha Brāhmana*, V, 1, 1, 3.

⁶ The title *Dharmamahārāja*, which Hindu kings assumed in the early centuries of the Christian era, may have been suggested by the title *Dharmamahāmātra* borne by some high officials of Aśōka. We find it for the first time in the Hirahadagalli grant of the Pallava king Śivaskandavarman. Some northern kings assumed the title of *Dharmaviṣṇu* or righteous conqueror. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 15 and 609.

⁷ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIV, p. 333.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 11 f.

Bhavanāga have been found at Padmāvatī, the well-known capital of the Nāgas ¹ From Vākātaka records we learn that the Bhāraśivas were staunch Śaivas They carried on their shoulders the emblem of Śiva (perhaps his *triśūla* or trident) and believed that they owed their royal position to that god's grace ² They performed as many as ten Aśvamēdhas and were consecrated with the water of the Gangā, which they had obtained by their valour The description plainly shows that the Bhāraśivas had driven away the Kushānas from Central India and recovered from them the *tīrthas* of Prayāga and Kāśī, which are regarded as sacred by all devotees of Śiva Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas, was a contemporary of Pravarasēna I He gave his daughter in marriage to Gautamīputra, who was probably the eldest son of the Vākātaka Emperor This alliance with the powerful Nāga family of the North appears to have greatly strengthened the power and prestige of the Vākātakas, for, it is invariably mentioned in all grants of Gautamīputra's descendants. The *Purānas* credit Pravarasēna I (whom they call Pravīra) with a long reign of 60 years, which is not unlikely in view of his performance of four Aśvamēdhas and several Vājapēya sacrifices. He may have ruled from about 270 A C to 330 A C

Pravarasēna I had a very pious, learned and active Prime Minister named Dēva, who is eulogised in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription It is said that by his influence the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in the performance of religious duties ³ The phenomenal religious activity noticed in the reign of Pravarasēna I may have been mainly due to the influence of this learned and pious statesman

According to the *Purānas*, Pravarasēna I had four sons, all of whom became kings ⁴ Until recently this statement of the *Purānas* appeared incredible, for, there was no evidence that the Vākātaka family had branched off so early The discovery of the Bāsim copper-plate grant in 1939 showed for the first time that besides Gautamīputra mentioned in several Vākātaka grants, Pravarasēna I had at least one more son named Sarvasēna ⁵ His name has also been noticed in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā ⁶ It seems therefore certain that the extensive empire of Pravarasēna I was divided among his four sons after his death The eldest branch probably continued to reign from the old capital Purnkā The second son Sarvasēna established himself at the holy city of Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha One of the remaining sons may have been ruling over North Kuntala comprising the upper Krishnā valley, and the other may have been put in charge of Dakshina Kōsala, if that was included in the dominion of Pravarasēna I. No records of these two branches have yet come to light probably because they were short-lived The Kuntala branch may have been crushed out of existence by the Rāshtrakūta family which was founded by Mānānka in the upper Krishnā valley in *circa* 375 A C ⁷ The branch ruling in Dakshina Kōsala may also have been ousted by the Nalas and others who rose to power about the middle of the fourth century A C ⁸

¹ *J N S I*, Vol V, pp 21 f

² Cf. No 3, lines 4-5 etc.

³ Cf. नराजक राष्ट्रमुपेत्य यस्मिन् धर्म्या क्रिया पार्थ इव प्रव्रजे ॥ No 26, line 5

⁴ Cf. तस्य पुत्रास्तु चत्वारो भविष्यन्ति नराधिपा । *DKA*, p 50

⁵ No 23, line 4

⁶ No 25, line 6

⁷ See my article 'The Rāshtrakūṭas of Mānapura' in *ABORI*, Vol XXV, pp 36 f. Also *SI*, Vol I, pp 178 f

⁸ For the Nala kings see my article 'Gold Coins of Three Kings of the Nala Dynasty', *J N S I*, Vol I, pp 29 f For the family ruling in Dakshina Kōsala, see Arang Plates of Bhīmasēna II *Ep. Ind*, Vol IX, pp. 342 f As I have shown (*ibid*, Vol XXVI, pp 227 f), the date of this grant is G 182 (501 A C), not G 282 as taken by the editor

CHAPTER V

THE MAIN BRANCH

GAUTAMĪPUTRA, the eldest son¹ of Pravarasēna I, predeceased his father. The latter was therefore succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I in *circa* 330 A.C.

In later Vākātaka records Rudrasēna I is invariably described as the daughter's son of Bhavanāga, the *Mahārāja* of the Bhāraśivas, which indicates that the young prince had the powerful support of the Nāgas of Padmāvati. Only one inscription of his reign has been discovered, viz., that at Dēotēk in the Chāndā District of Vidarbha.² It is incised on a large slab of stone after chiselling off an earlier record, issued probably by a *Mahāmātra* of Aśōka the Great, prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals. The Vākātaka inscription on the slab records that the shrine where the slab was put up was the *dharma-sthāna* (place of religious worship) of the *Rājan* Rudrasēna. Rudrasēna I was a fervent devotee of Mahābhairava, the terrific god created by Śiva for the destruction of Daksha's sacrifice. He had no regard for the doctrine of *ahimsā* preached by Aśōka. He therefore apparently had no scruples in getting his own inscription incised on the same slab which contained an old proclamation of the great Buddhist Emperor prohibiting the capture and slaughter of animals.

Rudrasēna I was a contemporary of the mighty Gupta king Samudragupta. His age was therefore a period of great convulsion in the country to the north of the Narmadā. Samudragupta, with the powerful support of the Lichchhavis of Vaiśālī, embarked upon a career of conquest and annexation in North India. His Allāhābād pillar inscription mentions a large number of princes of Āryāvarta or the country to the north of the Narmadā whom he forcibly dethroned and whose kingdoms he annexed.³ Among these rulers were the Nāga princes Nāgadatta, Ganapati Nāga and Nāgasēna. Of these, Ganapati Nāga was probably the contemporary ruler of Padmāvati, for, his coins have been found there. He was evidently the successor of Bhavanāga. The other Nāga princes were probably ruling over smaller states in Central India. We do not know what measures Rudrasēna I took to help his relatives in North India, but there is no doubt that their final defeat and overthrow deprived him of the support of a powerful confederacy of the Nāga States.

After subduing the princes of North India, Samudragupta led his expedition to the south. The first king who felt the weight of his arms was Mahēndia, the lord of Kōsala, i.e. Chhattisgarh. This king may previously have been a feudatory of the Vākātakas, his

¹Dr D. R. Bhandarkar, drawing attention to the faulty construction in the stereotyped form of the Vākātaka genealogy, suggested that Gautamīputra was the grandson, not the son, of Pravarasēna I. If this view is accepted, the successor of Pravarasēna I would be his great-grandson as Gautamīputra did not evidently come to the throne, the expression *Vākātakānām Mahārāja*, which occurs invariably in the description of every Vākātaka king, being absent in his case. Again, if Gautamīputra was the grandson, not the son of Pravarasēna I, who was the son of the latter? Why is his name omitted? These questions cannot be satisfactorily answered. For further discussion of this question, see my article in *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. XI, pp. 232-33.

²No. 1.

³Some scholars identify Rudradēva mentioned in the Allāhābād pillar inscription as uprooted by Samudragupta with the Vākātaka Rudrasēna I, but the former was a ruler of Āryāvarta or North India, while the Vākātakas had, in this early period, no foot-hold north of the Narmadā as shown above. Again, as Dr. Altekar has shown, if Rudrasēna I had been killed by Samudragupta, his son Prithivishēna I would not have accepted Prabhāvatiguptā, the grand-daughter of Samudragupta, as a bride for his son Rudrasēna II. *Ind. Cult.*, Vol. IX, pp. 103 f.

powerful neighbours to the west. It is not known if Rudrasēna lent him any aid in resisting the aggression of the Gupta Emperor, but Mahēndra was ultimately defeated¹ and had to allow Samudragupta to pass through his territory for invading the kingdoms of Vyāghrañja of Mahākāntāra (the Great Forest Country, now called the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh) and other southern kings.

These Gupta conquests dealt a severe blow to the power and prestige of this senior branch of the Vākātaka family. Vyāghrarāja of Mahākāntāra, who probably belonged to the Nala family, Mantarāja of Kurāla, Mahēndragiri of Pīṣṭapura (modern Pithāpuram) and a host of other princes who were ruling in Kalinga and Andhra, threw off the Vākātaka yoke and submitted to the Gupta Emperor. The kingdom of this Senior branch, therefore, came to be confined to Northern Vīdarbha which lay between the Narmadā and the Indhyādrī range.

Though Rudrasēna I's kingdom was thus much reduced in size, he maintained his independence and did not submit to the mighty Gupta Emperor. Perhaps Samudragupta, like Alexander, grew wiser by the resistance he encountered in his southern campaign, and avoided a direct conflict with the Vākātaka king. He may also have thought it prudent to have friendly relations with his southern neighbour who occupied a strategic position with regard to the kingdom of the powerful Western Kshatrapas, whom he had not yet subdued. In any case, there are no signs of Gupta supremacy in the Vākātaka records of the age.² The Vākātakas did not adopt the Gupta era, but throughout dated their grants in regnal years. As they had no coins of their own, they were not loth to use Gupta currency as they had used Śaka coinage before, but that was certainly no indication of Gupta suzerainty. Their relations with the Guptas seem to have been very friendly.

Rudrasena I was succeeded in *circa* 350 A.C. by his son Prithivīśhēṇa I, who is eulogised in the grants of his successors as a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara and is endowed with such noble qualities as truthfulness, compassion, self-restraint and charity as well as with heroism and political wisdom. He is compared with Yudhisṭhira, the great Pāṇḍava hero of yore, who was famous for such virtues. Prithivīśhēṇa I appears to have pursued a peaceful policy which brought happiness and contentment to his people. Across the northern frontier of his kingdom, the Gupta Emperors Samudragupta and Chandragupta II were following an aggressive policy, subduing their neighbours and annexing their territories. Prithivīśhēṇa wisely refrained from being entangled in these wars and devoted himself to the consolidation of his position in the south and the amelioration of the condition of his subjects. The results of his policy are summed up in official Vākātaka records in the following words—Prithivīśhēṇa I had a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years.³

Prithivīśhēṇa I had probably a long reign, which seems to have terminated in *circa* 400 A.C. Some years before the close of it, in *circa* 395 A.C., Chandragupta II, who had

¹ That Gupta supremacy was acknowledged in South Kōśala is shown by the use of the Gupta era by the descendants of Mahēndra. See Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna II, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 f., with the correction of their date by me in *ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 228.

² Rudrasēna I mentions his title *Rājān* in the Dēoṭēk inscription. In the records of his descendants he is styled *Mahārāja*. These titles, as contrasted with that of *Samrāt* assumed by his grandfather Pravara-sēna I, may be supposed to indicate a feudatory status. But, as Dr. Altekar has shown, this distinction was not observed in South India. The title *Mahārāja* was adopted by paramount sovereigns as well as feudatory princes in South India. It was, for instance, assumed by the Vishnukundin Emperor Mādhavavarman I, who performed as many as eleven Āśvamēdhas as well as by the rulers of Valkha who 'meditated on the feet of their Great Lord'. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. 5 f.

³ No. 3, lines 11-12.

by that time become the lord paramount of a large part of North India, launched his attack on the Śaka Kshatrapas of Mālhwā and Saurāshtra¹ The causes of this war are not known The Kshatrapas were the northern neighbours of the Vākātakas They had held the fertile provinces of Mālhwā, Northern Gujarāt and Saurāshtra for more than three centuries and had become very powerful It is therefore not unlikely that Chandragupta II sought the alliance of his powerful neighbour, the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna I, in his war against the Kshatrapas. The combined strength of the Guptas and the Vākātakas was sufficient to wipe out the Western Kshatrapas, who disappear from history about this time Chandragupta II then annexed Mālhwā and probably made Ujjayinī a second capital of his vast empire. He sought to cement the political alliance with the Vākātakas by giving his daughter Prabhāvatīguptā in marriage to the Vākātaka prince Rudrasena II, the son of Prithivīshēna I This matrimonial alliance between the ruling families of Mālhwā and Vidarbha recalled a similar event which had occurred more than five centuries earlier in the time of the Śungas Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, which draws its theme from the latter event, was probably staged first at Ujjayinī on the occasion of the marriage of Prabhāvatīguptā and Rudrasēna II²

Like his father, Prithivīshēna I was a Śaiva During his time the Vākātaka capital seems to have been shifted to Nandivardhana, modern Nandardhan (also called Nagardhan) near Rāmtēk, about 28 miles from Nāgpur This place is surrounded by strongly fortified forts like Ghughusgadh and Bhivgadh, which may have been the reason for its selection as a site for the royal capital³

Prithivīshēna I was succeeded by his son Rudrasēna II, the son-in-law of the illustrious Gupta king Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya Unlike his ancestors who were all Śaivas, this prince was a devotee of Chakrapāni (Vishnu), to whose grace he ascribed his prosperity. This change in religious creed may have been due to the influence of his wife Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her father, was a devotee of Vishnu She greatly venerated the *pādāmūlas* (foot-prints) of Rāmachandra on the hill of Rāmgiri, where she made both of her known grants⁴ Thus Rāmagiri is modern Rāmtēk, a well-known place of pilgrimage near Nāgpur, which lay about three miles from the then Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana

Rudrasēna II died soon after his accession, in *circa* 405 A C, leaving behind two sons, Divākaraśēna and Dāmodaraśēna, who succeeded him one after the other⁵ Divākaraśēna was a minor at the time of his father's death The dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā therefore looked after the affairs of the State as regent for her little son Her Poonā plates, which were issued from Nandivardhana in the thirteenth year evidently of the boy prince's reign, revealed for the first time that she was a daughter of the famous Gupta king Chandra-

¹ The last known date of the Western Kshatrapas is Ś 310 or Ś 31x (i.e. 388 A C or 388+x A C.) while the earliest date of Chandragupta II noticed in the inscriptions of Mālhwā is G 82 (401-2 A C.). V. Smith therefore conjectured that the war against the Kshatrapas must have occurred in *circa* 395 A C.

² There are other instances of Sanskrit plays being staged on similar occasions See e.g. Rajaśēkhara's *Viddhaśālahaṅgikā* (C II, Vol IV, pp lxxix f)

³ See Wellsted, "Vākātakas of the C P and Berar and Their Country", *J A S B* (N S), Vol. XX, pp. 58 f

⁴ Rāmagiri is explicitly mentioned as the place of issue in her Riddhapur plates, No 8, line 1. The grant recorded in her Poonā plates was also probably made at Rāmagiri See No 2, line 14.

⁵ Some scholars say that Rudrasēna II had three sons, *viz.*, Divākaraśēna, Dāmodaraśēna and Pravaraśēna, who ruled one after another *H C I P*, Vol III, p 181. But we have no records of Dāmodaraśēna as we have those of Divākaraśēna and Pravaraśēna Again, if Dāmodaraśēna was different from Pravaraśēna II it is strange that the title *Vākātakanām Mahārājah* should not have been prefixed to the name of the latter in the Riddhapur plates, though he was reigning at the time

gupta II, and thus placed Vākātaka genealogy on a sound basis. Unlike other charters of the Vākātakas, this grant is inscribed in nail-headed characters and in its initial portion gives the genealogy of the Guptas and not of the Vākātakas. This clearly indicates that Gupta influence was predominant at the Vākātaka court during the regency of Prabhavātiguptā¹. Chandragupta II had evidently sent some of his trusted officers and statesmen to assist his daughter in governing her kingdom. One of these was the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who seems to have stayed at the Vākātaka court for some time. He composed his world-famous lyric *Mēghadūta* probably during his sojourn in Vīdarbha, for, he describes therein Rāmāgiri² as the place of the exiled Yaksha's residence. This place, as already stated, is undoubtedly identical with Rāmtēk near Nagpur. His graphic description of the six-year old Sudarśana in the 18th canto of the *Raghuvamśa* was probably suggested by what he saw of the boy prince Divākarasēna at the Vākātaka capital.

Divākarasēna also seems to have been short-lived. He was succeeded in *circa* 420 A.C. by his brother Dāmodarasena, who, on his accession, assumed the name Pravarasena of his illustrious ancestor. Several grants of this prince have come down to us. They record his donations of fields or villages in the modern districts of Amarāvati, Wardhā, Nāgpur, Bētul, Chhindwādā, Bhāndārā and Bālāghāt in Vīdarbha and Madhya Pradesh. The latest of these grants is dated in the 29th regnal year. Pravarasēna II had therefore a long reign of about thirty years from *circa* 420 A.C. to 450 A.C.

Pravarasēna II continued to reign from the old capital Nandivardhana till his 11th regnal year, for, his Bēlōrā plates³ dated in that year were issued from that city. Thereafter, he founded a new city which he named Pravarapura after himself and shifted his seat of government there. The earliest grant made at Pravarapura is dated in the 18th regnal year⁴, which shows that this change of the capital must have occurred some time between the 11th and 18th regnal years. Pravarapura is probably identical with Pavnāi near Wardhā in the Wardhā District of Vīdarbha.

Pravarasēna II was a devotee of Śambhu, by whose grace he is said to have established on earth the reign of the *Kṛita-yuga* or Golden Age. He was a very liberal king, for more than a dozen grants of his reign have been discovered so far. Having come into contact with such a great poet as Kālidāsa, he naturally acquired a taste for poetic composition. Some of his Sanskrit verses are preserved in Sanskrit anthologies. Several Prakrit *gāthās* composed by him have been included in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. Though himself a Śaiva, he composed the Prakrit *kāvya Sētubandha* in glorification of Rāma, probably at the instance of his mother Prabhavātiguptā⁵. He began to compose this *kāvya* soon after he came to the throne⁶ and evidently received considerable help in its composition from his friend Kālidāsa⁷. This *kāvya* has been highly eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians.

¹ Prabhavātiguptā repeated the same genealogy in her later Riddhapur grant also. She was evidently more proud of her Gupta descent than of her marriage in the Vākātaka family.

² For the location of Rāmāgiri, see my article in *NUJ*, No. IX, pp. 9f. Also *SI*, Vol. I, pp. 121.

³ No. 5, line 29.

⁴ No. 6, line 60.

⁵ Pravarasēna II's authorship of the *Sētubandha* is doubted on the ground that 'while the theme of the *kāvya* is Vaishnava, the king was a devotee of Śiva'. *HCIP*, Vol. III, p. 84. The argument has little force. We might as well doubt Kālidāsa's authorship of the *Raghuvamśa* on the ground that he was a Śaiva.

⁶ Cf. *Sētubandha*, canto I, v. 9.

⁷ According to Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Sētubandha*, the *kāvya* was composed by Kālidāsa for the sake of Pravarasēna by the order of Mahārājādhrāja Vikramāditya. It is not, however, likely that Kālidāsa actually composed the *kāvya*, though he may have revised it.

Pravarasēna built a magnificent temple of Rāmachandīa at Pravara-pura when the capital was shifted there. This also was evidently done at the instance of his mother who was a worshipper of that god. Some beautiful panels which decorated the temple have recently been found in excavations at Pavnār.

Narēndrasēna, who succeeded his father Pravarasēna II in *circa* 450 A.C., is known from the unfinished Bālāghāt plates¹ of his son. His feudatory Bharatabala also makes a covert reference to him in his Bamhanī plates². The Bālāghāt plates state that he enticed the ancestral fortune by means of the confidence which he had created by his already acquired noble qualities. This was taken to mean that there was some trouble about his succession. Dr Kielhorn thought that he might have superseded his elder brother³. It has also been suggested that there was a division of the kingdom between Narēndrasēna and his brother whose name is lost in the inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI⁴. This view is now proved to be untenable as the princes mentioned in the Ajantā inscription belonged to the Vatsagulma branch. There is no clear indication of a disputed succession in this period, the description in the Bālāghāt plates being only a poetic way of stating that Narēndrasēna attracted royal fortune by his noble qualities.

Narēndrasēna married Ajjhitabhattārikā, a princess of Kuntala. She probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūta family of Mānapura, which was ruling over the Southern Maratha Country, comprising the Sātārā, Kōlhāpur and Shōlāpur Districts of the Mahārāshtra State. The Pāndarangapallī plates discovered in a village near Kōlhāpur describe Mānānka, the founder of the family, as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country⁵. This royal family appears to have wielded considerable power and sometimes came into conflict with the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātaka family. During the time of Chandragupta II it came under the sphere of Gupta influence and, as tradition says, its government was carried on under the direction of the Gupta Emperor. Kālidāsa, the famous Sanskrit poet, was sent as an ambassador to the court of the contemporary Kuntala king who was probably Dēvarāja. Ajjhitabhattārikā, married by Narēndrasēna, may have been the daughter of Dēvarāja's son Avidhēya, mentioned in the Pāndarangapallī plates, who flourished in *circa* 440-455 A.C.

Narēndrasēna followed an aggressive policy in the east and the north. The Bālāghāt plates of his son Prithivishēna II state that he had, by his prowess, subjugated the enemies and that his commands were honoured by the lords of Kōsalā, Mekalā and Mālava⁶. Of these countries, Mālava had till then been under the direct administration of the Guptas since the overthrow of the Western Kshatrapas. About the middle of the fifth century A.C.,

¹No. 18, line 30

²No. 19, lines 31-34

³*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 269

⁴S. K. Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, p. 132

⁵D. C. Sircar interprets the expression *śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsītā* in these plates as 'the chastiser of the prosperous Kuntalas' and makes Mānānka not the ruler but the vanquisher of the Kuntala country. He further identifies the Kuntalas with the Kadambas of the Kanarese country. *H.C.I.P.*, Vol. III, p. 200. It is difficult to accept these views. As I have shown elsewhere, the root *praśās*, when used with the name of a country, usually means to rule and when used with persons, it means to chastise. That this was the intended meaning is also clear from the contrast in the two expressions *sa-Vīdarbh-Āśmaka-vijētā* and *śrīmat-Kuntalānām praśāsītā* used in the plates to describe Mānānka. The *Daśakumāra-charita*, in its eighth *uchchhvāsa*, mentions the ruler of Kuntala separately from that of Vanavāsī. This shows clearly that the ruler of Kuntala did not belong to the Kadamba family which held Vanavāsī (modern Banavāsī in North Kānādā).

⁶No. 18, line 27-28

the Gupta empire was convulsed by the invasions of the Hūnas and though Skandagupta fought bravely to stem the tide of these invasions, there was a feeling of unrest and uncertainty in the land. This is indicated by the statement in the Mandasōr inscription of V. 529 that in the short period of 36 years (between V. 493 and V. 529) several princes held the country of Daśapura.¹ The recently published Mandasōr inscription of V. 524 also states that Prabhākara, a feudatory of the Guptas ruling at Daśapura, had to fight with several enemies of his lord.² Some of these may have sided with the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna and sought his help in throwing off the Gupta yoke. What success Narēndrasēna achieved ultimately in extending the sphere of his influence to Mālwa is not known.

Mēkalā is the country near Amarakantak, where the Narmadā, called *Mēkala-sutā*, takes its rise. Before the rise of the Guptas this country was included in the dominion of the Maghas, which extended from Fatehpur in the north to Bāndhōgadh in the south.³ After overthrowing them Samudragupta annexed the fertile territory of the Vatsa country and parcelled out the hilly tract of Baghēlkhand among a number of feudatories such as the Parivrājakas, Uchchakalpas and Pāndavas. The last of these appear to have previously owed allegiance to the Magha kings. An inscription at Bāndhōgadh mentions *Rājan* Vaiśravaṇa and his father *Mahāsēnāpati* Bharatabala, who probably belonged to the Pāndava lineage and were feudatories and army commanders of the Maghas. Later, they transferred their allegiance to the Guptas.⁴ The Bamhanī plates⁵ of the Pāndavavarṁśī king Bhatabala alias Indra give the following genealogy of the prince—Jayabala, his son Vatsarāja, his son Nāgabala, and his son Bharatabala. The first two of these were probably feudatories of the Guptas. Nāgabala, who seems to have come to the throne when the Gupta empire was tottering owing to the onslaughts of the Hūnas, first assumed the title of *Mahānāja*, indicative of his rising power and prestige. He formed a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of Kōsalā (modern Chhattīsgadh) by getting the latter's daughter Lōkaprakāśā married to his son Bharatabala.⁶ She was probably a daughter of the king Bhīmasēna I, mentioned in the Āraṅ plates⁷ of his grandson Bhīmasēna II, dated G. 182 (501-2 A.C.). Bharatabala, who flourished in *circa* 460-480 A.C., makes a veiled reference to his suzerain, the Vākātaka Narēndrasēna. He appears to have transferred his allegiance from the Guptas to the Vākātakas. This confirms the statement in the Balāghāṭ plates that the commands of Narēndrasēna were honoured by the ruler of Mēkalā.

Kōsalā is of course of Dakṣiṇa Kōsala or Chhattīsgadh, comprising the modern districts of Durg, Raipur and Bilāspur. As we have seen above, Mahēndra, who was ruling over this country in the fourth century A.C., was defeated by Samudragupta and forced to acknowledge his supremacy. His successors used the Gupta era in token of their submission to the Guptas. As the Gupta power was tottering about this time, the ruler of this country also may have submitted to the Vākātakas. The aforementioned Āraṅ plates of Bhīmasēna II, dated in G. 182 (501-2 A.C.) show that his family had been ruling over Kōsalā for at

¹ *C II*, Vol. III, p. 83

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 15

³ For coins of the Maghas found in the Fatehpur District, see *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. II, pp. 95 f. Several stone inscriptions of the Maghas have been found at Bāndhōgadh, Gijā and Kōsam.

⁴ For a fuller discussion of this matter see my article 'The Pāndava Dynasty of Mēkalā' in the *Silver Jubilee Volume* of the Indian Historical Research Institute, pp. 268 f.

⁵ No. 19

⁶ *Ibid.*, line 30.

⁷ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 f., Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 f.

least six generations Narēndrasēna's contemporary may have been Bhīmasena I. Narēndrasēna may also have annexed the Anūpa country, the capital of which was Māhishmatī, modern Mahēshvar, when he extended his suzerainty to Mālwa¹

Narēndrasēna, who was probably a grown up man at the time of his accession,² may have had a reign of about 20 years (450-470 A.C.) Towards the end of his reign the Vākātaka territory was invaded by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman. According to the *Purānas*,³ the Nalas ruled over the Kōsalā country. This statement is corroborated by the find-spots of their inscriptions and coins. Gold coins of three kings of the Nala family, Varāha, Bhavadattavarman and Arthapati have been found at Edēngā in the Kōndēgaon *taluk* of the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh.⁴ Of these Varāha was the earliest. He may have been defeated by Narēndrasēna and forced to pay tribute. His son Bhavadattavarman seems to have taken revenge. He invaded the Vākātaka territory and pressed as far as Nandivardhana, the erstwhile capital of the Vākātakas, which he occupied for some time. A copper-plate inscription discovered at Riddhapur in the Amarāvati District records the grant of a village in the Yeotmāl District which the king Bhavadatta had made at the holy *tīrtha* of Prayāga (Allāhābād) for the religious merit of himself and his wife.⁵ The plates were actually issued by his son⁶ Arthapati from Nandivardhana. This inscription clearly shows that a considerable portion of the Vākātaka dominion was occupied by the Nalas.

The Vākātakas also admit this disaster to their arms. The Bālāghāt plates state that Prithivīshēna II, the son of Narēndrasēna, raised his sunken family.⁷ At this time he seems to have been forced to move to the east and fix his capital at Padmapura, modern Padampur near Āmgaon in the Bhandārā District, from where an unfinished Vākātaka plate was intended to be issued.⁸ Prithivīshēna consolidated his power at this capital and after a time drove the enemy from his ancestral country. He even carried the war into the enemy's territory and stormed and devastated his capital Pushkarī, as admitted in an inscription of Arthapati's brother Skandavarman found at Pōdāgadh in the Vizagāpatam District.⁹

It is not known whether Prithivīshēna II continued to rule from Padmapura or again shifted his capital to some other place in Vidarbha. In any case Padmapura retained its importance for a long time, for, it attracted learned Brāhmanas like Gōpāla, an ancestor of the famous Sanskrit dramatist Bhavabhūti, who performed the Vājapēya and other sacrifices there. In his plays Bhavabhūti mentions Padmapura situated in Vidarbha as the home of his ancestors.¹⁰

Prithivīshēna II soon retrieved his position in the north also and even pressed farther than his father. Two stone inscriptions of his feudatory Vyāghradēva, who explicitly acknowledges his suzerainty, have been discovered at Nachnā and Ganj in the former Vindhya

¹The *Daśakumāracharita*, eighth *uchchhivāsa*, shows that Māhishmatī was included in the dominion of the Vākātakas about this time.

²His father Pravarasēna II had a long reign of about 30 years.

³*D K A*, p. 51.

⁴*J N S I*, Vol. I, pp. 29 f.

⁵*Ep. Ind*, Vol. XIX, pp. 100 f.

⁶Arthapati was the son, not the grandson, of Bhavadattavarman as supposed by Dr. D. C. Sircar, See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXXIV, pp. 142 f.

⁷No. 18, line 33.

⁸No. 17, line 1.

⁹*Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXI, p. 156.

¹⁰For the identification of Padmapura, see *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XI, pp. 287 f. Also *S. I*, Vol. I, pp. 21 f.

Pradēsh¹ This Vyāghradēva probably belonged to the Uchchakalpa dynasty, for, several records of this dynasty mentioning his name have been found in the Nāgōd District. As Jayanātha, the son of *Mahārāja* Vyāghra was ruling from *circa* G. 170 to G. 190 (490 to 510 A.C.),² Vyāghradēva may be referred to the period from 470 to 490 A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Prithivīshēna II. The Uchchakalpa kings were previously the feudatories of the Guptas, whose era they used. When the power of the Guptas declined in the second half of the fifth century A.C., they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas.

Unlike most of his ancestors, Prithivīshēna II was a worshipper of Vishnu, for, he is described as *parama-bhāgavata* in the Bālāghāt plates.³ He is the last known member of this senior branch of the Vākātaka dynasty. He may have closed his reign in 490 A.C. After him, the kingdom was probably annexed by Harishēna of the Vastagulma branch, who made extensive conquests in all directions.

Thus ended this senior branch of the Vākātaka dynasty after a glorious rule of about 160 years (*circa* 330 - 490 A.C.). It produced a series of illustrious kings who were capable rulers of men, wise administrators, and liberal patrons of learning and art. No lithic monuments of their age have survived in Northern Vīdarbha, but the few panels that have recently been brought to light at Pavnār show the excellence of the plastic art of the time. Their age was equally distinguished in literature. Two *kāvyas*, the *Mēghadūta* and the *Sētubandha*,—the former in Sanskrit and the latter in Prakrit—have immortalised it. Many other Sanskrit works which gave the Vaidarbhī *rīti* the place of eminence among all *rītis* must have been composed during this period, but they have all passed into oblivion.

¹Nos. 20-22.

²His grants are dated G. 174 and G. 177. *C.I.I.*, Vol. III, pp. 117 f.

³No. 18, line 34.

CHAPTER VI

THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

THE existence of this branch was unknown till the discovery of the Bāsīm plates in 1939. Several members of it were indeed mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā, but owing to a sad mutilation of the record, their names were misread. These names have since been restored and it has been conclusively shown that the princes who ruled the country to the south of the Indhyādrī range belonged to a different branch of the kātaka family.

The founder of this branch was Sarvasēna mentioned in both the Bāsīm plates and the Ajantā inscription as a son of Pravarasena I. He was presumably one of his younger sons. The country under his rule seems to have stretched south of the Indhyādrī range up to the bank of the Godāvarī. In the establishment of his authority over this territory he appears to have received considerable help from his minister Ravi, the son of the Brāhmana Ravana from a Kshatriya wife.¹ Ravi's descendants became the hereditary ministers of the kātaka kings of Vatsagulma and served them faithfully for several generations.

Sarvasēna selected Vatsagulma, modern Bāsīm in the Akolā District of Vidarbha, as his capital. This was an ancient city. The country round it called Vātsagulmaka is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana. Vatsagulma was regarded as a holy *tīrtha* and according to a local *Māhātmya* it was so called because the sage Vatsa, by his austerities, made an assemblage of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage.² In the Vākātaka age it became a great centre of learning and culture, and gave its name to the *chhōmī* to the best poetic style.³

From the Bāsīm plates we learn that Sarvasēna continued the title *Dharmamahārāja* which his father Pravarasēna I had assumed in accordance with the custom in South India. The description that the Ajantā inscription gives of him is conventional. Sarvasēna was, however, known as the author of the Prakrit *kāvya Harivijaya*, which has been eulogised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians.⁴ He also composed many Prakrit *gāthās*, some of which have been included in the well-known Prakrit anthology *Gāthāsaptasatī*. He may be ascribed to the period 330-355 A.D.

Sarvasēna was followed by Vīndhyasēna, called Vīndhyasakti (II) in the Bāsīm plates. He pursued a more vigorous policy and defeated the lord of Kuntala, who was his northern neighbour. As stated before, a Rāshtrakūta family rose into prominence just about this time. Mānānka, its founder, made considerable conquests and annexed the territory to the south of the Godāvarī,⁵ which was previously ruled by one of the sons of Pravarasēna I.

¹ No. 26, line 7.

² The *Jayamangalā*, a commentary on Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, gives another derivation of this place-name. According to it, Vatsa and Gulma were two princes of Dakṣiṇāpātha. The country ruled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka. The *Bṛhatkathā* also mentions Vatsa and Gulma as sons of a Brāhmana and maternal uncles of Guṇādhyā, but it does not state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Bṛhatkathāmāñjarī*, 1, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9.

³ Vatsagulma retained its importance as a centre of learning and culture for a long time, for Rājavaraha describes it as the pleasure resort of the god of love, where the mythical Kāvya-purusha married Ityavidyā. It was probably the native place of Rājasēkhara. *CII*, Vol. IV, pp. clxxiv f.

⁴ See below, Chapter X.

⁵ See my article 'The Rāshtrakūtas of Mānapura' in *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 36 f., *SI*, Vol. I, 178 f.

In an inscription of his descendants, Mānāṅka is described as the ruler of the prosperous Kuntala country and as the conqueror of Aśmaka and Vīdarbha.¹ Mānāṅka founded the city of Mānapura which became the capital of these Early Rāshtrakūtas. This Mānapura is probably identical with Mān, the chief town of the Mān *tālukā* of the Sātārā District in the Mahārāshtra State.

Mānāṅka was thus ruling over the Southern Maratha country. His kingdom was contiguous to those of Aśmaka and Vīdarbha. Aśmaka lay along the bank of the Gōdāvarī and comprised the Ahmadnagar and Bhīr Districts of Mahārāshtra. The ruler of Aśmaka was probably a feudatory of the Vākātakas.

From the palaeographical evidence afforded by the grants of his successors Mānāṅka seems to have flourished towards the close of the fourth century A.C. He was thus a contemporary of Vindhyaśēna. As both Mānāṅka and Vindhyaśēna claim a victory over each other, neither of them appears to have emerged completely victorious from this war. During the reign of Mānāṅka's successor Dēvarāja, however, the kingdom of Kuntala came under the sphere of the influence of the Guptas, for, its government was carried on under the direction of Chandragupta II.² It therefore ceased to be a menace to the Vatsagulma Vākātakas.

Vindhyaśēna made the Bāsim grant in the 37th regnal year. The plates were issued from the royal capital Vatsagulma, and register the grant of a village situated in the territorial division of Nāndikata, modern Nāndēd in the Mahārāshtra State. The genealogical portion of the grant is written in Sanskrit and the formal portion in Prakrit, which shows how the classical language was gradually asserting itself. Vindhyaśēna, like his father and grandfather, assumed the title *Dharmamahārāja*. His minister Pravara is mentioned in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription. Vindhyaśēna was probably a contemporary of Prithivīśhēna I, and, like the latter, may have closed his reign about 400 A.C.

Vindhyaśēna was followed by his son Pravaraśēna II, about whom little is known. The Ajantā inscription states that he became exalted by his excellent, powerful and liberal rule. He seems to have had a short reign (400-415 A.C.), for when he died, his son was only eight years old. His minister Śrī-Rāma is mentioned in the Ghatōtkacha cave inscription.

The name of this boy prince, who is said to have ruled well, is lost in the Ajantā inscription. His minister was Kīrti. He was succeeded in *circa* 450 A.C. by his son Dēvasēna, whose fragmentary copper-plate inscription discovered somewhere in South Berar has since then been deposited in the British Museum.³ This plate also was issued from Vatsagulma, which shows that the place continued to be the royal capital to the last.

Dēvasēna had a very righteous and capable minister named Hastibhoja. He looked after the affairs of the State and pleased all subjects. Dēvasēna entrusted the government of

¹D.C. Sircar takes Vīdarbha and Aśmaka in the expression *sa-Vīdarbh-Aśmaka-vijētā* descriptive of the Rāshtrakūta Mānāṅka as referring to 'the Vākātakas of Berar' and 'the Vākātakas of Vatsagulma' respectively. This view cannot be accepted, for the country round Vatsagulma also was included in Vīdarbha as explicitly stated by Rājāśekhara. This is also corroborated by the statement in the *Gaṇḍapurāṇa* that Kadambapura (modern Kalamb in the adjoining Yeotmal District) was included in Vīdarbha. See *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 320 f.; *S.I.*, Vol. II, p. 164 f.

²See the tradition mentioned in several ancient Sanskrit works that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador to the court of Kuntalēśa. He reported to his master that the lord of Kuntala was spending his days in enjoyment leaving the governing of the kingdom to the care of Chandragupta. See *A.B.O.R.I.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 45 f.; *S.I.*, Vol. I, pp. 186 f.

³No. 24.

his kingdom to him and gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures¹ Hastibhōja is eulogised in the Ajantā and Ghaṭōtkacha cave inscriptions which were caused to be incised by his son Varāhadēva

Dēvasēna was succeeded in *circa* 475 A C by his son Harishēna, who is the last known king of this line. He was a brave and ambitious prince and carried his victorious arms in all directions. 'Unfortunately the Ajantā inscription,² which in lines 14-15 describes his conquests, is very sadly mutilated, but the extant portion mentions several countries which he had either overrun or forced to pay tribute. These countries lay in all the four directions of Vidarbha, viz., Avanti (Mālwa) in the north, Kōsalā (Chhattisagadh), Kalinga (between the Mahānadī and the Gōdāvarī), Andhra (between the Gōdāvarī and the Krishnā) in the east, Lāta (Central and Southern Gujarat) and Trikūṭa (Nāsik District) in the west, and Kuntala (Southern Maratha Country) in the south. It would thus seem that Harishēna became the undisputed suzerain of the entire country extending from Mālwa in the North to Kuntala in the south and from the Arabian sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east.

Harishēna's conquests do not seem to have resulted in the permanent annexation of this vast territory. The rulers of these countries were probably allowed to retain their respective kingdoms on condition of regular payment of tribute. Harishēna's subjugation of Mālwa plainly shows that he had already incorporated the kingdom of the senior branch into his own dominion. In Kalinga and Andhra Harishēna's incursions seem to have led to the establishment of new royal families, for, just about this time in 498 A C the Ganga era was started marking the foundation of a new power in Kalinga³. In Andhra Harishēna appears to have supplanted the contemporary Śālaṅkāyana king and given the kingdom to the Vishnukundin king Gōvindavarman. The latter's son Mādhavavarman I married a Vākātaka princess⁴ who may have been Harishēna's own daughter. In Kōsalā or Chhattisagadh also we find that the old family mentioned in the Ārang plates was supplanted by the kings of Śarabhapura⁵. That Harishēna's suzerainty was recognised in the west beyond the confines of Vidarbha is shown by the inscription which a ruler of Rishika (modern Khāndēsh) has left in Cave XVII at Ajantā⁶. In the south the Rāshtrakūta king of Kuntala continued to rule his kingdom for a long time after submission to the Vākātaka king. Harishēna probably ruled from *circa* 475 to 500 A C.

Harishēna had a pious, liberal and capable minister named Varāhadēva, who was loved alike by the king and his subjects. He was the son of the aforementioned Hastibhōja who had served Devasena. Varāhadēva was a devout Buddhist. He caused Cave XVI at Ajantā to be excavated and decorated with sculptures and picture galleries. The inscription⁷ which he caused to be incised on its wall is our chief source of information

¹This description was taken by K. P. Jayaswal to mean that Dēvasēna abdicated in favour of his son Harishēna; but verses 12-16 of the inscription convey no such idea. The inscription is merely intended to glorify Hastibhōja, to whom Dēvasēna consigned the cares of government. Similar statements occur in some other records also. They are not to be taken literally.

²No. 25.

³For the epoch of the Ganga era see my article in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 325 f., *SI*, Vol. II, pp. 110 f.

⁴*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, pp. 103 f.

⁵For the dates of the kings of Śarabhapura, see *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. VIII, pp. 47 f.; *SI*, Vol. I, pp. 231 f.

⁶No. 27.

⁷No. 25.

for the history of this Vatsagulma branch. He caused also the Ghaṭōtkacha cave at Gulwādā, a few miles from Ajantā, to be excavated and decorated, where he has left an inscription,¹ describing his ancestors.

Harishēna is the last known king of this line. He may have been followed by one or two other princes, but even their names have not come down to us. In any case the dynasty seems to have been overthrown by *circa* 550 A.C. by the Katchachuris or Kalachuris of Māhishmatī. The coins of Krishnarāja, who heads the genealogical list in early Kalachuri grants have been found all over the country extending from Vidiśā in the north to Nāsik and Karhād in the south and from Bombay in the west to the Districts of Amarāvati and Bētul in the east. This Kalachuri king seems therefore to have reared his Empire over the ruins of the Vākātaka dominion. Svāmīrāja whose plates dated in the Kalachuri year 322 (573-71 A.C.) were issued from Nandivardhana was probably a feudatory of the Kalachuri Krishnarāja.

The causes which led to the sudden disintegration of the mighty Vākātaka Empire have not been recorded in history, but Dandin's *Daśakumāracharita*, which was written within about a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vākātakas, appears to have preserved a living tradition about the last period of Vākātaka rule. This Sanskrit work in its last chapter called *Viśrutacharita* narrates the adventures of Viśruta, one of the *Kumāras* who were followers of Rājavāhana, son of Rājahamsa, the dethroned king of Magadha.²

The narrative points to the existence of a large southern empire. The emperor ruled directly over Vidarbha which comprises the Marāṭhī-speaking districts of the former Madhya Pradesh and the Hyderābād State. Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms, *viz.* Kuntala (Southern Mahārāshtra), Āsmaka (the country on the southern bank of the Gōdāvarī), Rishika (Khāndēsh), Murala (country near the Gōdāvarī), Nāsikya (Nāsik District) and Konkana. The Empire thus extended from the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south and from the Arabian Sea in the West to at least the Waingangā in the east. A young prince succeeded to this large empire after the death of his illustrious father. This prince, though intelligent and accomplished in all arts, neglected the study of the science of politics. His father's old minister counselled him again and again to apply himself to the study of the *dandanīti*, but he, coming under the influence of his licentious courtier, treated the advice with contempt, gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures and indulged in all kinds of vices, neglecting the affairs of the State. His subjects imitated him and led a vicious and dissolute life. Consequently, disorder and lawlessness became rampant in the kingdom. Finding thus a suitable opportunity, the crafty ruler of the neighbouring Āsmaka country, sent his minister's son to the court of Vidarbha. The latter ingratiated himself with the king and egged him on in his dissolute life. He also contrived to decimate his forces by various means. Ultimately, when the country was thoroughly disorganised, the ruler of Āsmaka instigated the king of Vanavāsī (modern Banavāsī in North Kānadā District) to invade the kingdom of Vidarbha. The latter advanced with a large force and occupied some portion of Southern Vidarbha. The young Emperor of Vidarbha then mobilised his forces and called all feudatories to his aid. Among those who rallied under his banner were, besides the treacherous prince of Āsmaka, the rulers of Kuntala, Murala, Rishika, Nāsikya and Konkana. Aided by these feudatories, the Emperor of Vidarbha decided to give battle to the enemy on the bank of the Varadā (modern Wardhā). The ruler of Āsmaka, however, secretly conspired

No. 26

- For a summary of the narrative and detailed discussion of the historical data furnished by it, see my article in *A B O R. I.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 20 f, *S I.*, Vol. I, pp. 165 f

with the king of Kuntala and caused disaffection among other feudatories also. They treacherously attacked their suzerain in the rear, while he was fighting with the invading forces of the king of Vanavāsī. The emperor was killed in the battle. The cunning Aśmaka king then contrived to cause dissensions among the feudatories also. They fought among themselves for the spoils of the war and destroyed one another. He then appropriated the whole booty and, giving some part of it to the invader, induced him to return to Vanavāsī, and himself annexed the kingdom of Vidarbha. In the meanwhile the old faithful minister of Vidarbha safely escorted the queen of Vidarbha with her two small children—a prince and a princess—to Māhishmatī, where the late emperor's half-brother was reigning. The latter made advances to the widowed queen, but was repulsed by her. He then wanted to kill the little prince of Vidarbha, but was himself murdered by Viśruta, who espoused the latter's cause and placed him on the throne of Māhishmatī.

The narrative ends abruptly here. So we do not know whether the boy-prince ultimately succeeded in ousting the ruler of Aśmaka from Vidarbha and regaining his ancestral throne.

The narrative seems to reflect faithfully the actual political conditions in Vidarbha in the period which followed the death of Harishēna in *circa* 500 A.C. In later centuries the centre of imperial power in the Deccan shifted successively to Māhishmatī, Bādāmī, Mānyakhēta and Kalyāna, but it was never in Vidarbha. Some of the geographical names also went out of use in later times. One such instance is that of Rishīka. This country is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Rāmāyana* and *Bṛhatsamhitā* and in the Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi, but it is unknown to later works and inscriptions¹. All these indications point to the sixth century A.C. as the age in which the incidents described in the *Viśrutacharita* happened. Dandin, whose ancestors originally belonged to Vidarbha, had evidently reliable sources of information², as he gives details about the kingdoms flourishing in the period which are substantiated in all material points by contemporary inscriptional evidence. His narrative clearly shows that the great Vākātaka empire which once extended from beyond the Narmadā in the north to the Tungabhadra in the south suddenly crumbled to pieces owing to the incompetence of Harishēna's successor and the treacherous defection of his feudatories. As Dandin's narrative ends abruptly, we do not know whether Harishēna's grandson regained the throne of Vidarbha with external aid. He may have succeeded in doing so with the assistance of the Vishnukundin Mādhavavarman I, the mightiest king of the age, who was ruling over Andhra and who is credited with the performance of eleven Aśvamēdhas. The latter had married a Vākātaka princess who was probably Harishēna's own daughter. But the Vākātaka prince could not evidently have retained his hold over Vidarbha for a long time, for, as we have already seen, the Kalachuri Krishnarāja, who in the meanwhile had established himself at Māhishmatī, extended his sway over Vidarbha as well as over Northern Mahārāshtra by 550 A.C. The Somavamśīs, Gangas and Vishnukundins asserted their independence in the east, while the Rāshtrakūtas must have gradually gained strength in the south. Thus disappeared the last vestiges of Vākātaka power after a glorious rule of nearly 300 years.

¹ See *ABORI*, Vol. XXV, pp. 167 f.

² According to the *Avantisundarikathā* and the *Avantisundarikathāsāra*, Dandin was the great-grandson of the Sanskrit poet Dāmōdara who originally hailed from Achalapura and was later patronised by the Ganga king Durvīṇta and the Pallava king Simhaviṣṇu. Dāmōdara must therefore have lived in the last quarter of the sixth century A.C. His great-grandson Dandin can consequently be referred to the third quarter of the seventh century A.C. Dandin thus appears to have flourished about a hundred and twenty-five years after the fall of the Vākātakas. It is therefore not unlikely that he had fairly reliable information about the closing period of the Vākātaka age.

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION

THE country under the direct rule of the two branches of the Vākātaka dynasty extended roughly from the Narmadā in the north to the valley of the Gōdāvarī in the south and from the eastern boundary of Rīshika (Khāndēsh) in the west to the western boundary of Dakshina Kōsala (Chhattisgad) in the east. This vast territory was divided into a number of *rāshtras*, also called *rājyas*, corresponding to the modern Commissioners' Divisions, some of which find a mention in our records. We have thus the Pākkana *rāshtra* mentioned in the Belorā plates¹, the Bhojakata *rājya* in the Chammaka plates² Vāruchha *rājya* in the Pāndhurnā plates³ and the Ārammi *rājya* in the Dudia and Pāndhurnā plates⁴. In the records of contemporary feudatory families, whose kingdoms were comparatively smaller, the *rāshtras* were named after the directions in which they were situated. Thus we find the Uttara *rāshtra* or Northern Division mentioned in the Bamhanī plates of the Pāndavavamśī king Bharatabala⁵, and the Pūrva *rāshtra* or Eastern Division named in the Ārang plates of Mahā-Jayarāja⁶ and the Raipur plates of Mahā-Sudēvarāja⁷. No such divisions are, however, noticed in the Vākātaka grants. The *rāshtras* were next divided into a number of *vishayas* or districts. This appears clear from the statement in the Bamhanī plates that the Pañchagaitā *vishaya* in which the donated village was situated was included in the Uttara *rāshtra* (division) of Mekalā⁸. The names of *vishayas* generally ended in *kaṭa* or *kaṭaka*. Four such *vishayas* are named in our records viz Bhojakata comprising roughly the territory of the modern Amarāvati District⁹, Bennākata corresponding to the modern Bhandārā and Bālāghāt Districts¹⁰, Nāngarakataka, the exact location of which is uncertain¹¹, and Nāndīkata which comprised the territory round modern Nāndēd in the Mahārāshtra State¹². When a *vishaya* was too large, it was divided into parts which were named after the directions in which they were situated. We thus find the *apara-patta* or western division of the Bennākata mentioned in the Tīrōdī plates¹³. The *vishayas* were further sub-divided into *āhāras* and *bhōgas* or *bhuktis*. Only one *āhāra* viz the Supratishṭha *āhāra* is mentioned in our records¹⁴. It seems to have comprised parts of the modern Hinganghāt, Warōdā and Yeotmāl *taluk*s of Vidarbha. The relation of *āhāra* to *bhōga* is not known. Our records mention three *bhōgas* viz Bennākāraparabhōga¹⁵, Lōhanagarabhōga¹⁶

¹ No. 5, line 13

² No. 6, line 18

³ No. 14, line 20

⁴ No. 10, line 13, No. 14, lines 26 and 29

⁵ No. 19, line 34

⁶ C I I, III, p. 193

⁷ *Ibid*, p. 198.

⁸ No. 19, lines 34-35

⁹ Bhojakata is said to have been founded by Rukmin, the brother-in-law of Krishna. See *Harivamśa*, Vishnuparvan, ch. 60, v. 32

¹⁰ No. 11, line 13

¹¹ No. 24, line 2

¹² No. 23, line 5

¹³ No. 11, line 13

¹⁴ No. 2, line 10; No. 3, line 17, No. 12, line 17

¹⁵ No. 7, line 17-18.

¹⁶ No. 13, line 20

and Hūnanyapurabhōga¹, and one *bhukti*, viz., Asibhukti² which was probably included in the Pākkana *rāshtra*. The *bhōgas* contained cities, towns and villages³. The names of the cities and towns generally ended *nagara* or *pura*, such as Aśvatthanagaia, Pravarapura, Hūnanyapura, Chandrapura, Padmapura, etc. Sometimes towns were named after the princes who founded them. Compare Pravarapura founded by Pravarasēna II. The names of villages ended in *grāma* (cf. Danguna-grāma, Śīrshagrāma, Mandukī-grāma, etc.), *khēta* or *khēta* (cf. Varadākhēta, Aśvatthahēta), *vātaka* (cf. Bōnthikavātaka, Pavarajjavātaka, etc.) or *viraka* (cf. Karañjaviraka, Darbhaviraka, etc.). Some territorial divisions were named after the number of villages included in them. Such was Pravarēśvara-shadvīmśatī-vātaka⁴. It appears to have been a group of twenty-six villages which received this name after a shrine of Śīva under the name of Pravarēśvara erected by Pravarasēna I.

In the earlier records of the Sātavāhanas, geographical names occur in Prakrit. As the Vākātakas adopted Sanskrit for writing their charters, the names of mountains, rivers, towns and villages are given in that classical language. It is interesting to note that the Sātmālā range in which the Ajantā caves are situated is called *Sahya-pāda* in an inscription at Ajantā⁵. In some cases the names of rivers have since been changed quite out of recognition. Thus the river Umā mentioned in the Jāmb plates is now known as Wannā⁶. Similarly the Madhunadī⁷, on the bank of which the village Charmānka (modern Chhammak) was situated, bears now the name of Chandrabhāgā. The names of the Bēnnā⁸ and the Hīranyā⁹ mentioned in the Tīrodī and Wadgaon plates can, however, still be recognised in the Waingangā and Ēraī of modern times.

The form of government in the Vākātaka age was monarchical. The king had supreme authority which was, however, checked considerably by the dictates of religious works like the *Smritis*. There is no reference to any *Mantri-parīshad* or Council of Ministers in Vākātaka grants. It is needless to say that there was no popular assembly also. Still, the rule of kings was not despotic or oppressive to the people. The ideal of a Welfare State has always been kept before Indian kings by the writers of *Smritis* and *Arthaśāstras* and it has also been preached by great Sanskrit poets like Kālidāsa¹⁰. Many of the Vākātakas must have attempted to reach it. Our records are unfortunately lacking in details about the

¹No. 10, line 16

²No. 4, line 13 and No. 5, line 13

³*Mārga*, which is generally translated by 'a way', seems also to have denoted a territorial division. The records of the Śarabhapuriya kings, which use *taddhita* forms from words denoting territorial divisions (e.g. *vaishayika*, *bhogiya* etc.) contain the expression *Sundarikā-mārgiya* derived from *Sundarikā-mārga*. This shows that like *vishaya* and *bhōga*, *mārga* also meant a territorial division. We have several such divisions in Vākātaka grants. See e.g. Sailapura-mārga mentioned in the Beloiā plates (Nos. 4 and 5, line 13), Kauśika-mārga in the Riddhapur plates (No. 8, line 12), Gēpuraka-mārga in the Indore plates (No. 9, line 8), Varadākhēta-mārga, in the Pattan plates (No. 13, line 20), Sundhātī-mārga and Yaśapura-mārga in the Pātnā Museum plates (No. 15, lines 2 and 6), Uttara-mārga (which is specifically mentioned as situated in Nāndīkata) in the Bāsim plates (No. 23, line 5) and Uttara-mārga (in Nāngalakataka) in the India Office plate (No. 24, line 1). *Mārga* corresponds to the territorial division *pathaka* mentioned in other records.

⁴No. 5, line 14

⁵No. 27, line 23.

⁶No. 3, line 17

⁷No. 6, line 18.

⁸No. 11, line 13

⁹No. 12, line 1.

¹⁰Cf. प्रजानां विनयाधानाद्रक्षणाद्भ्रूणादपि । स पिता पितरस्तासां केवलं जन्महेतवः ॥ *Raghuvamśa* I, 24

administration of the kings, but the description they give of Prithivīshena I is significant. He was marked out not only for his personal bravery, intelligence and political wisdom but also for such virtues as truthfulness, straightforwardness and compassion. He took pride in being *Dharmavyayin* i.e. a righteous conqueror¹. This means that he never waged any war for self-aggrandisement. He conferred his gifts on worthy recipients. He strove to follow in his life the example of Yudhishtira, the well-known Pāndava king of yore, whose name has been held in great veneration throughout the ages. We have no account of the lives of other kings of this dynasty, but in the absence of any evidence to the contrary we may suppose that they also tried to rule in the same manner. Pravarasēna II in particular is said to have established Kṛita-Yuga (Golden Age) by his wise rule. It may also be noted in this connection that Harishēna, the last known Vākātaka king, is described in an Ajantā inscription of his feudatory as one who secured the well-being of his subjects².

Unlike the Kushānas and the Guptas of North India, the Vākātakas did not assume high-sounding titles like *Shāhānushāhi* or *Paramabhattachāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Paramēśvara*, etc.,³ but contented themselves with the older modest style of *Mahārāja*⁴. They did not also claim any divine origin,⁵ but believed that they owed their royal fortune to the grace of their *īshṭa-dēvatā*. Thus, Rudrasena II is described as one whose royal fortune was due to the grace of the god Chakrapāni (Vishnu)⁶. His son Pravarasēna II is said to have obtained his weapon of Śūla by the special favour of the god Śambhu (Śiva)⁷. Their feudatories, the Pāndava kings of Mekalā, however, who had come into contact with the Guptas, describe themselves in their grants as *parama-guru-dēvat-ādhidāvatā-vīśeṣa*⁸ i.e. highly venerable personages, deities and supreme divinities. They thus claimed superhuman power. Again, Lokaprakāśā, the queen of the Pāndavamśi king Bharatabala, is described as born in a family descended from gods⁹. The Vākātakas did not claim for themselves descent from any god or eponymous hero, but these feudatories of Mēkalā proudly proclaimed their birth in the venerable Pāndava-vamśa descended from the Moon. The contemporary rulers of Mahākāntāra (modern Bastar District and the adjoining territory) similarly claimed that they were descended from the king Nala of epic fame¹⁰.

The Vākātaka grants mention three kinds of feudatories, viz., (i) those who submitted to the Emperor when they came to know of his resolve to subdue them, (ii) those who

¹ Cf. No. 4, line 8, No. 6, line 10 etc. His ancestor Pravarasēna I and some members of the Vatsagulma branch assumed the title of *Dharmamahārāja* indicative of their piety and their support to the Vedic religion.

² No. 27, line 21.

³ C I I, Vol. III, No. 1, line 8, No. 5, lines 2-3 etc.

⁴ It has been supposed that the title *Mahārāja* assumed by the Vākātakas as contrasted with *Mahārājādhirāja* mentioned in connection with the Gupta Emperors indicates the inferior political status of the former. H C I P., Vol. III, p. 180. It should, however, be noted that the kings of the Vatsagulma branch had assumed the same title even before the time of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, when there could have been no question of subordination to the Guptas. See No. 22, line 1-3. Pravarasēna I's title *śamrāt* was due to his performance of Vājapēya sacrifices. His title *Mahārāja* is also sometimes mentioned along with it.

⁵ The epithet *Hārīti-putra* applied to Pravarasena I in the Bāsim plates (No. 23, line 3) perhaps originally meant 'a son of (i.e. favoured by) the Buddhist goddess Hārīti'. Later, it came to mean a descendant (or disciple) of the sage Hārīti. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 31, *Vikramānkadēvacharita*, I, 58.

⁶ No. 3, line 13.

⁷ No. 15, line 1.

⁸ No. 19, line 9 and 14. The Guptas assumed the title of *Paramadāvatā* also. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XV, p. 130.

⁹ No. 19, line 29.

¹⁰ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 102.

submitted on being attacked, and (iii) those who were vanquished by valour ¹ The imperial yoke on these feudatories must have been lighter than in North India, for, they do not usually mention their overlords ² They must, of course, have been required to pay tribute and to join the imperial army in all wars of offence and defence ³

We do not get much information about the administrative organization of the Vākātakas Unlike the grants and seals of copper-plate charters of the Guptas, the Vākātaka inscriptions do not generally mention the names of the consorts of the ruling kings The only exceptions known are Prabhāvatīguptā⁴, the *agra-mahishī* (crowned queen) of Rudrasena II, and Ajñitabhattachārikā⁵, the queen of Narēndrasēna The former acted as Regent for her minor son *Yuvarāja* Divākarasēna for at least thirteen years. Other queens do not appear to have taken any part in the administration of the kingdom The *Yuvarāja* may have assisted his father in governing the kingdom, but of this there is no specific mention in the grants ⁶

The administration of the kingdom must have been carried on with the help of a large number of officers, civil and military, but few of them find a mention in our records The *Daśakumāracharita*, which in its eighth *uchchhvāsa* gives us a picture of the political and social conditions in the age of the Vākātakas, mentions the *mantrin* (Counsellor) and the *adhyakshas* (Heads of Departments), but they are not noticed in our records The inscription in Ajantā Cave XVI mentions the *Sachiva*⁷ or Minister The officers who were appointed to govern the *rājyas* or provinces of the kingdom were known as *rājyādhyakṛtas* or Governors. Chamidāsa, mentioned in the Tīrōḍī plates, was an officer of this rank ⁸ The *Sarvā-dhyaksha*, who is usually mentioned in Vākātaka grants,⁹ was probably the head of the Secretariat He was invested with authority to appoint subordinate officers called *Kulaputras* and direct them for the execution of royal orders The *Kulaputras* had various duties. Their primary function was of course the maintenance of law and order For this purpose they had a number of *bhaṭas* and *chhātras* under them ¹⁰ The *bhaṭas* were soldiers, while the *chhātras*, who correspond to the *chātras* mentioned in some inscriptions,¹¹ were policemen The *Kulaputras*, *Chhātras* and *bhaṭas*, like the *tahasildars* and police officers of modern times, toured in the districts for the collection of land-revenue and various taxes due to the State ¹² They could seize the treasure trove, work salt and other mines, and make village people work free of charge for the State They were entitled to free boarding and lodging while touring in the districts for the work of the State ¹³ They must, no doubt, have been exacting and

¹No 8, lines 26-27

²The Vākātaka suzerain is explicitly mentioned in No 27, line 21, while his name is covertly suggested in No 13, lines 32-34 The Śarabhapurīya kings, who were probably feudatories of the Vākātakas, do not, however, name their overlords

³In the eighth *Uchchhvāsa* of the *Daśakumāracharita*, the feudatories of the king of Vidarbha come to his help when he was attacked by the ruler of Vanavāsī.

⁴No 2, line 9

⁵No 18, line 31.

⁶The Riddhapur plates of the Nala king Bhavadattavarman were actually granted by his son *Mahārāja* Arthapati, who was probably *Yuvarāja* at the time

⁷No 25, line 15.

⁸No 11, line 33

⁹See e.g. No 3, line 20

¹⁰*Loc cit*

¹¹No 19, line 37.

¹²Cf *ājñā-saṁchārī-kulaputī-ādhyakṛtā bhaṭās-chhātrīās-cha* in No 3, line 21

¹³No 3, line 26.

oppressive in their dealings with the village people. They were therefore expressly forbidden to enter *agrahāra* villages donated to Brāhmanas, and could not claim from them any of the privileges allowed to them in other places except when they had to apprehend persons accused of high treason, the murder of a Brāhmana, theft, adultery or such other heinous crimes. So long as the donees of these land-grants did not rebel against the king and did not commit any offence against the residents of other villages, they were free from the molestations of these *bhāṭas* and *Chhāṭras*.¹ The *Kulaputras*, *bhāṭas* and *Chhāṭras* had therefore to be specially informed of every land-grant made by the king.

Another officer, who is, however, mentioned in a solitary grant of the Vākātakas,² was *Rajuka*. His name is derived from *rajyū* 'a rope', which shows that he was originally a Settlement Officer who measured land for the assessment of revenue. The *Rajukas* are mentioned in the edicts of Aśoka. In the Mauryan times they were high officers of the State who were placed in charge of many hundred thousands of men and who could at their discretion inflict punishment or confer a reward. They seem to have lost their high rank in course of time, for, the *rajuka* is mentioned in the aforementioned Vākātaka grant only as a writer of the charter. The *Rāhasika* mentioned in the Bamhanī plates³ was probably the Private Secretary who acted as the confidential clerk of the king.

The only military and police officers mentioned in Vākātaka grants are the *Sēnāpati*⁴ and the *Dandanāyaka*⁵. The *Sēnāpati* is almost invariably named in charters of land-grants as they were drafted in his office⁶. His title, like that of his lord, was a modest one. In North India, the Guptas introduced grandiloquent titles for their civil and military officers such as *Kumārāmātya*, *Sāndhvirgrahika* and *Mahādandanāyaka*⁷, but the Vākātakas preferred to continue the humbler titles of the earlier age. There were apparently frequent transfers of officers; for, we find that the post of the *Sēnāpati* was held by different persons or by the same person at different times during the reign of Pravarasēna II. Thus, the *Sēnāpati* of the king was Chitravarman in the 11th and 13th regnal years⁸, Bāppa in the 18th and 25th years⁹, Nami-dāsa and Chamidāsa in the 23rd year¹⁰, Kātyāyana in the 27th year¹¹, and Mādhappa in the 29th year¹². Sometimes the order for a land-grant was personally given by the king and this was indicated by the words *ājñā svayam* (ordered personally), recorded in the charter. In other cases the name of the *Dūtaka* (called *Ajñapti* in the Bāsīm plates) who communicated the royal order to the *Sēnāpati*'s office was mentioned at the end of the charter¹³. In one grant the names of the persons who got the charter drafted are also recorded¹⁴. Sometimes the name of the goldsmith who inscribed the copper-plates was also written at the end of the grant¹⁵.

¹No. 6, line 42-43

²No. 9, line 34

³No. 19, line 48

⁴See e.g. No. 5, line 30

⁵No. 24, line 2

⁶A *smṛiti* verse cited in the *Mitāksharā* on the *Tājñavalkya-smṛiti*, II, 319-20, states that the charters were to be written by the *Sāndhvirgrahikā* or Minister for Peace and War.

⁷CII, Vol. III, p. 10

⁸No. 5, line 30 and No. 6, line 60

⁹No. 7, line 35 and No. 12, line 42

¹⁰No. 10, line 28 and No. 11, line 33

¹¹No. 13, line 44

¹²No. 14, line 54

¹³Cf. the expression *rāj-ājñā-prada* used in place of *Dūtaka* in the Ponnutūru plates (line 6) of Sāmantavarman. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII, p. 220

¹⁴No. 13, lines 46-47

¹⁵No. 13, lines 45-46, No. 19, line 49.

The Bamhanī plates give the names of some village officers¹ The *Grāmakūta* was the head of the village administration The *Drōnāgrakanāyaka*, who also was informed of a land-grant, may have been the head of the *Drōnāgraka* (also called *Drōnamukha*)², the larger territorial division in which the donated village was included The *Dēvavārka*, who apparently helped the *Grāmakūta* in the management of the village affairs, may be identical with the *Dauvārka* (or *Pratīhāra*)³, who was the head of the village Police The *Gandakas* were probably not different from the *bhatas* or soldiers mentioned in *Vākātaka* land-grants These officers and their subordinates collected land-revenue and other government dues and maintained peace and order in the village

Sources of State Revenue—Our records shed some light on the sources of royal income The main sources were of course the land revenue and other direct taxes They are mentioned as *klīpta* and *upa-klīpta* in *Vākātaka* inscriptions⁴ *Klīpta*, which means a fixed assessment, is mentioned also in Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*⁵ It probably signified the land-tax *Upaklīpta* probably meant minor taxes such as are mentioned in the *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 131-132⁶ Besides these, the State claimed the right to confiscate the treasures and deposits accidentally discovered Digging for salt was again a royal monopoly Salt mines existed in Beṛar until recent times, Lonār (Sanskrit *Lavanākara*), a village in the Buldhānā District of Vidarbha, being specially noted for them Fermenting of liquors was also a royal prerogative The village officers were authorised to collect miscellaneous taxes in kind which are indicated by the expression *pushpa-kshīra-sandōha* in *Vākātaka* grants⁷ These were evidently the same as those mentioned in the *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 118, which the head the village was authorised to collect on behalf of the king and appropriate in lieu of his pay The State had again the right to make people work free of wages for works of public utility The villagers had to provide all amenities to touring royal officers, such as grass for feeding their horses or bullocks, hides for their seats and charcoal for their cooking⁸ The *agrahāra* villages were exempted from all these taxes and obligations

We have no record of any dissensions in the *Vākātaka* family as we have in the case of some other contemporary royal families The administration of the *Vākātakas* appears to have been very efficient and it secured peace and prosperity to their subjects As the inscription in Ajanta cave XVI states explicitly, the ministers of the *Vākātakas*, by their good government, became always dear and accessible to the people like their father, mother and friend They governed the country righteously, shining by their fame, religious merit and excellences⁹ In describing Vidarbha as *saurājya-rāmya* (attractive through good government) Kālidāsa was probably paying a tribute to the excellent administration of the *Vākātakas*¹⁰

¹No 19, line 35

²Kautilya mentions *Drōnamukha* as the chief village in a territorial division of 400 villages See *Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastri), p. 46

³*Pratīhāra*, which is a synonym of *Dauvārka*, is used in this sense in the *Śukranītiśāra*, II, 120-21, 170-75

⁴See e.g. No 3, line 28 No. 19 mentions *udranga* and *uparikara* and also *bhāga* and *bhōga* in the same sense

⁵*Arthaśāstra* (second ed.), p. 60

⁶आददीताथ षड्भाग द्रुमासमधुसपिषाम् । गन्धोषधिरसाना च पुष्पमूलफलस्य च ॥ पत्रशकतृणाना च चर्मणा वेदलस्य च । मृन्मयाणा च भाण्डाना सर्वस्याश्ममयस्य च ॥

⁷See e.g. No 5, line 20

⁸*Ibid*, lines 20-21.

⁹No 25, lines 12 and 15

¹⁰*Raghuvamśa*, canto V, v. 60. In v. 40 of the same canto Kālidāsa describes the capital of Vidarbha as prosperous (*ṛiddha*)

CHAPTER VIII

RELIGION

THERE was unprecedented religious activity in the age of the Vākātakas. The founder of the royal family was the *Grihapati* Vākātaka, who was a follower of Buddhism. He went on a pilgrimage to the distant holy place of Amarāvati in the Guntur District of Andhradeśa, where he has left an inscription recording his gift of a stone pillar for the longevity of himself, his two wives, friends and relatives¹. The gift was made at the instance of the *Thēra* (Buddhist Bhikṣu) Bōdhika. The descendants of this *Grihapati* Vākātaka changed their religious faith and became staunch supporters of the Vēdic and Purāṇic religion. They were guided in this by a pious Brāhmana family of Vallūra. This family maintained its reputation for Vedic learning for several generations². Its founder was Yajñapati, who was probably a contemporary of the Vākātaka king Vindhyaśakti. His son Dēva had great influence with the ruling prince, for, we are told that on account of him the whole kingdom including the king engaged itself in religious activities³. As a matter of fact, we find a phenomenal religious activity in that age. Pravarasēna I, the son of Vindhyaśakti I who had made extensive conquests, performed a large number of Vedic sacrifices such as four Aśvamēdhas and the seven Sōma sacrifices including the Vājapēya⁴. Thereafter we have no record of Vedic sacrifices being performed by later Vākātaka kings,⁵ but they must have extended liberal patronage to learned Brāhmanas and helped them in the performance of Śrauta sacrifices⁶. Thus, one grant of Pravarasēna II records the gift of 8000 *niwartana* of land to as many as a thousand Brāhmanas⁷. Several other grants of this prince and his mother as well as of some princes of the Vatsagulma branch have been discovered, which record gifts of land and even of whole villages to learned Brāhmanas.

Purāṇic Hinduism also received a fillip during the age of the Vākātakas. Several temples dedicated to Hīndu gods were erected throughout their dominion. Most of the Vākātaka princes were devotees of Śiva. So the temples of that god must have been much larger in number than those of other deities. Owing to paucity of inscriptions we do not, however, notice many references to them. Pravarasēna I, the great Emperor who distinguished himself by his numerous Vedic sacrifices, is known to have constructed a temple of Śiva under the name of Pravareśvara⁸. The territorial division of twenty-six villages in which it was situated came to be known by its name. His grandson Rudrasēna I, who succeeded him, also constructed a *dharmaśthāna* (temple) at Chikkamburī,⁹ modern Chikmār in the Chāṇḍā District, which was probably dedicated to his *ishṭa-dēvatā* Mahābhairava.

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 267

² No 26, line 8

³ *Ibid*, line 5

⁴ See e.g. No 3, line 1

⁵ They are known to have performed *Grihya* rites like the Ganayāga. The Jāmb plates of Pravarasēna II record his gift to a Brāhmana who is described as *Gana-yājīn*. No 3, line 19.

⁶ Ancestors of the famous Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti, who were learned and pious Brāhmanas and originally belonged to Udumbara, were probably invited by the Vākātakas to their capital Padmapur where they settled down and performed several Vedic sacrifices. See *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, pp. 210

⁷ No 6, line 20

⁸ No 4, line 13, No 5, line 14, No 14, line 1. The names of Śiva generally ended in *īśvara* and those of Vishnu in *svāmin*. So the temple of Pravareśvara was probably dedicated to Śiva.

⁹ No 1, line 6

Temples dedicated to Vishnu also were not rare. Rudrasēna II, the grandson of Rudrasēna I, became a devotee of Chakrapāni (Vishnu)¹ probably through the influence of his chief queen Prabhāvatīguptā, who, like her illustrious father Chandragupta II, was a devout worshipper of that god². She frequently visited the temple on the holy hill of Rāmagiri situated not far from her capital, where the foot-prints of Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vishnu, were installed. Both her known grants³ are made on Kārttika śu di 12, evidently at the time of the *pāranā* after the completion of the fast on the preceding *Prabōdhinī Ēkādaśī*. One of them specifically mentions the foot-prints of Rāmagirisvāmin, near which the grant was made⁴. Some other grants of her son also appear to have been made at the same place. In one grant⁵ a half of the village donated was given by a merchant named Chandra. There was another famous temple at Aśvatthakhetaka (modern Pattan in the Bētul District), in which also the object of worship was a pair of the foot-prints of Mahāpurusha (Vishnu). Pravarasēna II made a munificent donation of 400 *nvartanas* of land for the maintenance of the charitable feeding house (*sattrā*) attached to the temple⁶.

Another temple of Rāmachandra probably existed at Pavnār near Wardhā, just at the place where Vinōbājī's *āśrama* now stands on the bank of the river Dhām. It appears to have been decorated with beautiful panels depicting scenes from the *Rāmāyana*, some of which have recently been discovered at the place⁷. These panels were probably built into the walls of the temple as in the case of the Gupta temple at Dēvagaḍh. As shown above, Pavnār is probably identical with Pravarapura, which Pravarasēna II founded and made the seat of his government some time after the eleventh regnal year. This temple may have been constructed by him at the instance of his mother, the dowager queen Prabhāvatīguptā. So long as the capital was at Nandivardhana, Prabhāvatīguptā could have the *darśana* of her *ishta-dēvatā*, (i.e. Rāmachandra) at Rāmagiri which was only about 3 miles away; but when the capital was shifted to Pravarapura, she, having gone to stay there, must have felt the need of a temple of Rāmachandra there. At her instance her dutiful son Pravarasēna II appears to have erected this temple and got it decorated by the best artists of the age. Vinōbājī's *āśrama*, which is situated on an artificial mound and the area round which yielded the panels mentioned above, probably marks the site of this temple⁸.

Buddhism also was flourishing in the kingdom of the Vākātakas. It had perhaps a greater attraction for those who on account of some calamities befalling them were convinced of the transitoriness of health, worldly possessions and life. Varāhadēva, minister of the Vākātaka king Harishēna, who was so convinced, caused a magnificent *vihāra* cave to be excavated at Ajantā in memory of his father and mother⁹. He got it adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra, etc. It contained a temple of the Buddha inside and was provided with a large reservoir of water as also with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas. He presented the magnificent cave to the Community of Buddhist Monks at Ajantā.

¹No. 3, line 13

²Note the expression *atyanta-bhagavad-bhaktā* descriptive of her in her grant No. 2, line 8

³No. 2, line 14, No. 8, line 31.

⁴No. 8, line 1, रामगिरिस्वामिन पादमूलात् ।

⁵No. 9, line 20

⁶No. 13, lines 22-23

⁷For a description of these panels, see below, pp. lxi f.

⁸For a full discussion of this matter see my article entitled 'Pravarapura: An ancient Capital of the Vākātakas' in *Sarūpa-Bhārati*, pp. 271 f. See also *SI*, Vol. II, pp. 272 f.

⁹No. 25 line 18

Varāhadēva caused another cave to be excavated at Gulwādā, 11 miles west of Ajantā. Like Cave XVI, this cave also is of the *Vihāra* type, with a shrine of the Buddha in the *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā* at the farther end. It is decorated with beautiful sculptures and well-carved pillars and pilasters, but contains no paintings. As the inscription in which Varāhadēva gave an account of his ancestors¹ is sadly mutilated in its lower portion, the purpose for which the cave was excavated remains unknown. Nearby is another smaller cave of the *vihāra* type which also was probably excavated by the same minister and dedicated to the Buddhist Sangha.

Two other caves at Ajantā belong to the age of the Vākātakas. They are the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX. Both were excavated by a feudatory of Harishēna, who ruled over the Rīshika country. His name is unfortunately lost, as the inscription in Cave XVII, in which he had given an account of himself and his ancestors, is now very much mutilated. From the extant portion of it we learn that this prince was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba². Being convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence, he began to lead a pious life. Realizing that wealth causes an obstacle in the attainment of *siddhi*, he adorned the earth with *stūpas* and *vihāras*. He caused the excellent monolith *mandapa* (i.e. Cave XVII) containing the *chaitya* of the Buddha to be excavated and provided it with a water-cistern. To the west of it, in another part of the hill he caused a *gandhakutī* (i.e. Chaitya Cave XIX) to be excavated. These two are known for their excellent paintings and sculptures respectively.

As this inscription states, there must have been many such *vihāras* and *chaityas* excavated or constructed in other parts of the Vākātaka empire, but they have now passed into oblivion.

An analysis of the grants of the Vākātaka kings and their feudatories would shed interesting light on the religious tendencies of the age. Of the 27 inscriptions edited here, as many as nine are either incomplete or record no gift. Of the remaining eighteen grants, three³ record donations of *vihāra* and *chaitya* caves to Buddhist Sanghas, and fifteen, gifts of some land or village to Hindu gods and Brāhmanas. This shows that Buddhism was gradually losing ground⁴ and Hinduism was asserting itself. It would again be interesting to see on what occasions the gifts were made. The grants to Buddhist Sanghas mention no particular occasion. Again, two⁵ of the grants to Brāhmanas contain only season dates and therefore afford no basis for conjecture. Of the remaining thirteen grants also, only three⁶ state explicitly the *tithi* of the gift, while the others contain only the dates when the gifts were actually recorded. From these latter, however, we can in some cases conjecture the occasion of the gift. For instance, if a gift is recorded on the 12th or the 13th of the bright or dark fortnight of a month, it would not be wrong to conjecture that it was made on the occasion of the *pāranā* after observing a fast on the preceding *ekādaśī* (11th *tithi*). We thus find that of the aforementioned thirteen grants, as many as nine were made at the time of the *pāranās* of the following *ekādaśīs*—

¹No. 26 lines 3 f

²No. 27 lines 12 f

³*Viz* Nos. 25, 26 and 27

⁴In the preceding age of the Sātavāhanas, most of the inscriptions recorded gifts to Buddhist Sanghas.

⁵Nos. 10 and 23

⁶Nos. 2, 7 and 14.

<i>Name of Ēkādaśī</i>	<i>Total no of grants</i>
1 Jyēshtha śu dī 11 (now called Nirjalā)	One ¹
2 Bhādrapada va dī 11	One ²
3 Āśvina śu dī 11 (now called Pāsāṅkuśā)	One ³
4 Kārttika śu dī 11 (now called Prabōdhinī)	Four ⁴
5 Māgha va dī 11 (now called Shat-tīlā)	One ⁵
6 Phālguna śu dī 11 (now called Āmalakī)	One ⁶

This shows what importance the *ēkādaśī-vrata* had attained in that age. Again, even among the *ēkādaśīs*, that called *Prabōdhinī ēkādaśī* was regarded as most sacred. It is interesting to note that Kālidāsa also mentions this *tithi* in the *Mēghadūta*⁷ as the day of deliverance for the exiled Yaksha. It was believed that on that *tithi* the god Vishnu rose from his serpent couch after a sleep of four months.

One grant (No. 12) recorded on Jyēshtha śu dī 10 was made to a Brāhmana who is described as *Vishuva-vāchanaka*. It seems therefore to have been made on the occasion of the Mēsha Sankrānti. In the case of the two grants,⁸ no particular sacred *tithi* seems to have been the occasion of the gifts. One grant (No. 14) was made on the occasion of *tila-vāchanaka* i.e. probably a śrāddha.

The foregoing analysis reveals certain surprising facts. Most of the Vākātaka kings were *Paramamāheśvaras* i.e. devout worshippers of Mahēśvara or Śiva. Still, apart from No. 1 which may have recorded the construction of a temple of that god there is not a single inscription which records a gift in honour of him. Similarly, there is no mention of any gift having been made on a solar or a lunar eclipse. It may be noted in this connection that eclipses and *saṅkrāntis* were the usual occasions when land-grants were made to Brāhmanas in later times, while gifts on completion of the *ēkādaśī-vrata* were very rare.

¹No. 6

²No. 19

³No. 3

⁴Nos. 2, 4, 5, and 8.

⁵No. 11

⁶No. 7

⁷Cf. शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ । v. 120

⁸Nos. 9 and 15. In the case of the former grant which was recorded on Vaiśākha va. dī 5 it is possible to say that it was made on the preceding *tithi sankashta-chaturthī*, which is sacred to Ganapati, but it is doubtful if that god had attained such importance in the Vākātaka age. There is generally no obeisance to him in the beginning of early grants.

CHAPTER IX

SOCIETY

OUR records do not yield much information about the social condition in the age of the Vākātakas. Hindu society was then no doubt divided into castes, but the caste system had not become quite rigid. Some of the royal families of that age belonged to the Brāhmana, and some to the Kshatriya caste. The Vākātakas were Brāhmanas of the Vishnuvridha *gotra*.¹ Their feudatories who ruled over the Mēkalā country traced their descent from the Pāndavas² of the lunar race and evidently claimed to be Kshatriyas. The rulers of Mahākāntāra (modern Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh and the adjoining territory) claimed descent from the famous king Nala. They also must have been regarded as Kshatriyas. In some other cases such as those of the rulers of Śarabhapura and Rishika we have no means to ascertain their caste.

Though people generally married within their caste, intercaste marriages of the *anulōma* type sanctioned by the *Smṛitis*³ were not unknown. The Brāhmana prince Rudrasēna II married the Vaiśya princess Prabhāvatiguptā. This marriage brought no inferior status to her and her children; for she became the *agra-mahishī* (crowned queen) of the Vākātaka king and her sons Divākaraśēna and Pravaraśēna II succeeded to the throne one after the other. Another inter-caste marriage of that age is mentioned in the Ghaṭōtkacha Cave inscription. Sōma, a learned Brāhmana of Vallūra, married wives of both the Brāhmana and Kshatriya castes. His sons from the Brāhmana wives devoted themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* and made their native place famous by their learning. His sons from the Kshatriya wife, on the other hand, took to the military profession and distinguished themselves by their valour.⁴ Some of them became ministers of the Vākātaka kings.

The Brāhmanas who devoted themselves to the study of the *Vēdas* and *Śāstras* were highly venerated. Some of them mastered more than one *Vēda*. This was indicated by epithets like *Dvuvēda* prefixed to their names⁵, which had not yet become mere surnames. Some Brāhmanas officiated as priests at *Śrauta* sacrifices and *Gṛhya* rites. Those who performed certain rites like *Gana-yāgas* were looked down upon and were not invited to a *śrāddha*. The Brāhmana who officiated at such rites received a munificent gift. Some Brāhmanas preferred to lead a celibate life and were known as *naishthika Brahmachārins*. Kālūtṭaka, who received the Jāmb plates, was a Brāhmana of this type.⁶ Some Brāhmanas were known for their pious and saintly life. Such was the *Āchārya* Chanālasvāmin who is described as *Bhagavad-bhakta* (a devotee of Vishnu) in the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatiguptā.⁷ He was probably staying at Rāmagiri and appears to have been in charge of the temple of Rāmachandra there; for, the village Daṅguna which Prabhāvatiguptā granted to him was first offered to the feet of the god on Kārttika śu. di. 12.

¹No. 3, line 2

²No. 19, line 1.

³*Manusmṛiti*, III, 13

⁴No. 26, lines 7-8

⁵No. 12, line 22

⁶No. 3, line 19

⁷No. 2, line 14

From our records we get some interesting details about the Brāhmanas of Vīdarbha in that age. Their names usually ended in *śarman*, *ārya*, *āchārya* or *svāmīn*. They belonged to different *Vēdas* and *śākhās* or *charanas*. Unfortunately, all records do not give details about the *Vēdas* and *śākhās* of the donees. So the information is meagre. We can nevertheless make some gleanings. It is noteworthy that among the donees of copper-plate grants the *Rigvēdins* and the *Sāmavēdins* are conspicuous by their absence, not a single grant being made to them.¹ Among the *Yajurvedins*, the followers of the *Taittirīya śākhā* predominate, as many as six grants having been made to them.² One grant is made to a Brāhmana of the *Mādhyaṇḍina śākhā* of the *White Yajurveda*.³ He was residing in Mēkalā. In three other cases also the donees probably belonged to the *Vājasaneyā* or *White Yajurveda* as shown by the word *vāji* being prefixed to their *gōtra*.⁴ The Brāhmanas of the *Atharvaveda* are now extremely rare, but they were not so in those days; for, two grants, viz those recorded in the Tīrōdī and Bāsim plates⁵, were made to them. One of the donees belonged to the Bālāghāt District and the others to the Akōlā District.

Some Brāhmanas may have risen to a high rank in the administration of the State. As the castes of the officers are nowhere mentioned in copper-plate grants, our information in this respect is very meagre, but judging by his name, Dēvanandasvāmīn, who is named as *Dūtaka* in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, probably belonged to the Brāhmana caste.⁶ Some of the scribes of the grants whose names ended in *dāsa* may also have been members of the same caste.⁷

The Kshatriyas, who ranked next to the Brāhmanas in social hierarchy, occupied high positions in the administration of the State. Thus, Chitravarman, who held the high office of the *Sēnāpati* in the 11th and 13th regnal years⁸ of Pravarasēna II, was probably a Kshatriya. Other *Sēnāpatīs* such as Chamīdāsa, Namīdāsa, Bāppadēva, Kātyayāna, and Mādhappa may also have been of the same caste, but we have now no means of ascertaining this. Judging by his name, Prabhusimha, the scribe of the Riddhapur plates,⁹ may also have been of the Kshatriya caste.

Our records do not yield much information about other castes. The Indore plates mention a merchant (*vāṇijaka*) named Chandra, who could afford to purchase a half of the village which was granted to certain Brāhmanas by the Indore plates of Pravarasēna II.¹⁰ Some records mention the *suvarṇakāras* (goldsmiths) who engraved the copper-plates. As no large stone inscriptions of the Vākātakas have yet been discovered, we do not get the names of any *sūtradhāras* (artisans). The artisans, sculptors and painters who built the temple at Pavṇār and excavated and decorated with sculptures and paintings the Caves XVI, XVII and XIX at Ajantā and the Ghaṭōtkacha Cave at Gulwādā have also remained unknown.

¹ Some of the donees of the Chammak plates which recorded grants to a thousand Brāhmanas of 'various *gōtras* and *charanas*' may have belonged to these *Vēdas*. The *Vēdas* and *śākhās* of the few donees who are named therein have not been recorded.

² Viz Nos 3-5, 7, 8, 15.

³ No 19, line 39-40.

⁴ Nos. 9, 12 and 14.

⁵ Nos 11 and 22.

⁶ No 8, line 31.

⁷ It is well known that the great Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa, who belonged to the Brāhmana caste, has a similar name. It is noteworthy that the scribe of No 13 bore the same name.

⁸ No 5, line 30, No 6, line 60.

⁹ No 8, line 32.

¹⁰ No 9, line 20.

The inscription in Ajantā Cave XVII states that a feudatory of Emperor Harishēna whose name has, unfortunately, been lost, being moved by compassion, released, by expenditure of wealth, (persons) whose eyes were suffused through fear, as though they were his (own) sons¹. As this verse, like several others in that record, is very sadly mutilated it is not possible to say who these persons were. Perhaps they were domestic slaves. The institution of slavery was, no doubt, prevalent in ancient India. A slave had no right to property². He had to do menial work. He was generally treated with kindness and so foreign observers like Megasthenes have recorded that none of the Indians employed slaves. The *Yājñavalkya Smṛiti* lays down that a king should release from bondage those who have been enslaved by force or have been sold by thieves. He who saved the life of his master was also set free. Those who were sold for money could be released by payment of the required amount to their master³. In the *Mṛichchhakatika* Śarvilaka attempted to release his lady-love from servitude by this means. The slaves referred to in the aforementioned Ajantā inscription were probably of this type. Harishēna's feudatory took pity on them and released them from bondage by paying ransom-money and made them free citizens.

Inscriptions generally do not contain any particulars about the people's mode of living, their costume, jewellery, head-dresses, weapons, dwelling places, furniture, utensils, musical instruments and so forth. For these, we must turn to contemporary literature, sculpture and painting. The Vākātaka age produced several Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas*, but most of them are now lost. The *Mēghadūta* of Kālidāsa and the *Sītubandha* of Pravarasēna II are the only *kāvyas* of the age, produced in Vīdarbha, now extant. As the other *kāvyas* and *nāṭakas* of Kālidāsa were produced in Mālhwā outside Vīdarbha, the description in them may not be exactly true of Vīdarbha. Still, these works also could be utilised with due caution. The best sources of information about the social condition of the time are the sculptures and paintings in Caves XVI, XVII and XIX at Ajantā, which were excavated and decorated in that age. Fortunately, many of these sculptures and paintings are still in a fairly good condition. They furnish considerable information about the customs and manners of the people of Vīdarbha in that age.

As shown elsewhere, the custom of building temples and *vihāras* in stone and brick was coming into vogue in the age of the Vākātakas,⁴ but these materials do not seem to have been generally used for constructing dwelling places for the rich or the poor. Ajantā paintings show that palaces, houses as well as shops in market places were constructed of wood. As is well known, early Indian architecture was in wood. When *Vihāras* and *Chaityas* came to be excavated in hills, many of the features of wooden architecture such as beams and rafters, unnecessary as they were in such excavations, were carved in stone. Wooden ribs can still be seen in some early caves such as the Chaitya Cave at Kārlā.

Ajantā paintings show that the palaces and mansions of rich persons were constructed on wooden pillars which were decorated with carvings or paintings in three places, at the bottom, in the middle and at the top. The pillars had stone pedestals and either round or elongated capitals. The lintels were decorated with *Chaitya* windows. The assembly halls were either square or round in shape with a small verandah in front. For the latter type,

¹No. 27, line 17

²*Manusmṛiti*, IX, 416

³Adhyāya II, v 182

⁴Ajantā paintings occasionally show some small stone structures crowned with a dome, an *āmalaka* and a finial resembling those of the original temple at Bodh Gayā. They may be *dēvakulīs* or small temples. See *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. LXI and IV, Pl. XLIV (a).

see the circular pavilion where queen Māyā is relating her dream to her husband ¹ The halls were decorated with awnings and tapestries of various colours ² Some buildings had dove-cots with gabled roofs³ such as are described by Kālidāsa in the *Mēghadūta*, v 40 ⁴ The gateways leading from one part of a building to another had barrel-shaped roofs which were decorated with the designs of Chaitya-windows at both the ends ⁵ When necessary, shamianas (*pata-mandapas*) and tents (*upakāryās*) were erected They are mentioned by Kālidāsa in the description of the grand reception of prince Aja in Kundinapura, the capital of Vidarbha ⁶ Shops were generally square in shape and small in size, equipped with *chhajjās* of cloth or wickerwork in order to protect them from the sun and rain The dwellings of the poor had thatched roofs as at present ⁷

The furniture in the halls was of a simple type Low square seats with round cushions for reclining against were used A stool called *pāda-pīṭha* was placed in front for resting the feet on The custom of placing pots one over another in slings suspended from the roof of a kitchen, which is even now in vogue, is noticed in some paintings ⁸ While dining, people sat on low square seats, with the plate placed in front on a low stool ⁹

Ajantā paintings give us a glimpse into the various strata of society in Vidarbha Some people are shown black in complexion and short in stature, with a flat nose These may be the aborigines residing in Vidarbha and may have belonged to the Nāga race Those who excavated and painted the caves at Ajantā were probably of the same extraction ¹⁰ They have, therefore, sculptured and painted in several places Nāga-rājas with hoods of serpents over their heads ¹¹ On the other hand, kings, queens, Brāhmanas as well as male and female servants, noticed everywhere, are of the Āryan race They are fair in complexion, tall in stature and graceful in features Besides, there were several foreigners such as the Śakas, Pārthians and Kushānas, who had settled in Mahārāshtra Some of these are portrayed in the Ajantā caves In the fresco in Cave XVII which represents the Buddha preaching to a congregation, we notice among the audience some persons with a conical head-dress, who are apparently of foreign origin ¹² Elsewhere there appear others with a flat face and small eyes, dressed in a long robe, who, according to Mr Yazdani, may be Chinese ¹³ Pilgrims from China used to come to India to visit the sacred places of Buddhism

Ajantā paintings give us a clear idea of the costume and jewellery worn by men and women in Vidarbha in the age of the Vākātakas Most of them are shown dressed in a short *antarīyaka* or lower garment As it did not cover the knees, it was called *ardhōruka* In the *Harshacharita* Bāna has described it as one which left uncovered a third part of the thighs.¹⁴ This cloth had stripes of different colours The lower garments of Rāma, Lakshmana and

¹ *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl LXI.

² *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XVII (a)

³ *Ibid*, Part III, Pl LXIII

⁴ Cf ता कस्याचिद्भवनबलभौ सुप्तपारावताया नीत्वा रात्रि etc.

⁵ *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl L, Part IV, Pl XXI.

⁶ *Raghuvamśa*, Canto V, vv 63 and 83

⁷ *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl IV (c)

⁸ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl V

⁹ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXXVI

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XV

¹¹ See below, pp lxviii f

¹² *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl XXXIX

¹³ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXIII

¹⁴ *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasāgar Press ed), p 22.

Sītā in the panel called ' Meeting of Bharata ' from Pavnār are of the same type, but they are much broader, reaching down to the ankles. One end of this cloth which covered the left thigh was tucked behind like a *kachchha*, while the other, after covering both the legs was taken behind and after being tucked a little, was kept dangling like a tail. The lower garment was worn in a different manner in North India. Its pleats were gathered in from as seen in the sculptures at Sāñchī and Bharhut² Such pleats or *nīvīs* are seen nowhere in the paintings of the Vākāṭaka age at Ajantā, while the dangling end at the back is noticed almost everywhere³ In the *Rājataranginī* Kalhana has given the following humorous description of this mode of wearing the lower garment by the southerners:—' The king (Lalitāditya) made the tail of the lower garment of the southerners touch the ground in order to show that they were beasts '⁴

Women also wore their lower garment in a similar fashion. This is clear from one end of it dangling behind when they are shown seated or standing with the back turned towards others.⁵ Some women, however, wore their lower garment in the *vikachchha* fashion, i.e. without the ends of it being tucked up behind. Some men wore a pair of shorts which were tied with a band called *katibandha*⁶ This kind of lower garment was called *chandātaka*. From the *Harshacharita* we learn that women also used to wear such a *chandātaka* or underwear inside a long robe or *kañchuka*⁷

While engaged in active exercise, such as horse-riding or hunting, men used to put on trousers and a long coat with full sleeves over them. In the fresco representing the *Mṛga-Jātaka*, the king who has gone a hunting is shown dressed in this manner⁸ Many Gupta kings appear clad in the same fashion on their coins. Some servants also are shown with long-sleeved robes in Ajantā paintings.

Men usually wore an upper garment (*uttariya*) which, like the sacred thread, went over the left shoulder and below the right arm pit. This mode of wearing it kept the right arm free for movement. In some paintings the *uttariya* is seen turned over on the left shoulder. Some persons used to fold it and wore it as a *vaikakshaka* across their breast⁹ Some others took a long cloth and used it both as a lower and an upper garment¹⁰ In some cases we find the *uttariya* worn over a long-sleeved coat¹¹

In many paintings at Ajantā, the upper part of the bodies of kings, queens and rich persons appears to be bare, while their servants, male and female, are clad in garments. This *prima facie* appears strange, but the painter's intention was to show that these men and women of high social status were wearing diaphanous clothes. Sanskrit poets describe these garments as *nihśvāsa-hārya*¹² (such as could be blown away by mere breath) or as *sarpa-nirmōka-laghutara*¹³ (thinner than the sloughs of serpents). They also state that even

¹ See Plate B.

² In the earlier paintings in Cave IX at Ajantā also such pleats are shown. See *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. XVI.

³ *Ibid*, IV, Pl. XLVIII, LXV etc.

⁴ *Rājataranginī*, IV, 180.

⁵ *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. LXIV(b).

⁶ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. LI(c).

⁷ *Harshacharita* (Nirnayasāgar Press ed., 1912), pp. 31-32.

⁸ *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl. LXVIII(c).

⁹ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. IV(c).

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XV.

¹¹ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XVII(a).

¹² *Raghuvamśa*, Canto XVI, v. 43.

¹³ *Harshacharita*, pp. 31-32.

when they were worn, the inside limbs of the body such as the breasts and thighs, ornaments, sandal paste *etc* were clearly seen through them. The painters have shown in their pictures what the poets described in their *kāvya*s

Some women used to wear a band called *payōdhara-pata* to cover their breasts¹. In the scene representing dying Sundarī, in Cave XVI, the maid who is fanning the princess has worn such a breast-band². Again, in the fresco of the *Viśvantara-Jātaka* where Jujaka is receiving the ransom-money, the queen who is sitting beside the king has also worn a similar *payōdhara-pata*³. In the *Śākuntala*, when Śakuntalā complains that Priyamvadā had tied her bark-garment tightly and asks Anasūyā to loosen it, Priyamvadā retorts, 'You should rather blame your youth which has developed your breasts'⁴. In this scene also a similar *payōdhara-pata* is evidently referred to. As its knot used to be tied on the back, Śakuntalā had to ask her friend to loosen it. The *kañchulikā* or half-sleeved bodice, now usually worn by Mahārāshtrian ladies, though not much in evidence, is noticed in some paintings. For instance, the maid, standing near queen Māyā, as she is relating her dream to her husband, is shown to have worn such a bodice⁵. Again, the woman with a child on her waist, who appears in the midst of suppliants assembled to receive alms in the fresco representing the *Viśvantara-Jātaka*, has put on a half-sleeved jacket of the modern type with the floral designs painted on it⁶. In a scene of the *Simhvalāvadāna* in Cave XVII, a woman is shown to have worn a green bodice of the same type as is worn by Mahārāshtrian ladies at present⁷. Women of the Śaka and Kushāna descent used to wear a half-sleeved jacket instead of a bodice⁸.

Boys dressed themselves in the same manner as men. This appears clear from the frescoes representing prince Siddhārtha and his young companions. Some of them have one end of their lower garment dangling at the back, while some others are shown with a scarf on their shoulder, placed like an *uttariya*⁹.

After his enlightenment, the Buddha used to wear three garments, (i) the *antarāvāsaka* (which Yuan Chwang calls *nivasana*) or lower garment which was tied at the waist with a girdle, (ii) the *uttarāsanga*, also called *sankakshukā* which was worn like an *uttariya* and (iii) the *sanghātī* or long cloak. In the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII, the Buddha appears in some places to have worn an *uttarāsanga*¹⁰ and in others a *sanghātī*¹¹.

Several modes of hair-dressing and coiffure are noticed in these paintings. In the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII, men nowhere appear with a turban such as is seen in the earlier frescoes at Ajantā. The ruling princes are marked by a high jewelled diadem¹². Sometimes a single golden band worn across the forehead served to distinguish a royal personage. Others such as ministers, royal officers and common men generally wore their hair loose, which fell on their back, neck or chest. Some wore a cotton or silken band

¹ *Priyadarśikā*, Act II, v. 7

² *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. LII

³ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XXVI

⁴ *Śākuntala*, Act I

⁵ *Ajanta* Part III, Pl. LXII

⁶ *Ibid*, Part III, Pl. LXIV

⁷ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. LXIV(a)

⁸ *Ibid*, Part III, Pl. LXVI

⁹ *Ibid*, Part III, Pl. LXIII

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.

¹¹ *Ibid*, Part III, Pl. LIII and LXXIV, Part IV, Pl. XLI.

¹² *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl. XV.

across their forehead, which Bāna also has noticed¹ In the scene in Cave XVII representing the Buddha preaching to a congregation, a person of high social status who is sitting near king Bimbisāra among the audience is shown as wearing such a white silken band, under which his curling hair appears in small clusters² Foreigners like the Śakas and Kushāṇas are shown with a conical head-dress or with a low round skull-cap³ The Brāhmanas were marked by a tied tuft of hair on the crown of their head⁴ In the school-scene in Cave XVI some of Śidhārtha's companions have a similar tuft of hair⁵ Boys generally had clusters of hair called *kākapakshakas* above their ears⁶ In some sculptures, Purnabhadra, Pañchika and such other semi-divine beings are shown with a wig-like coiffure⁷ Buddhist monks shaved their heads clean, but they do not appear in this manner in Ajantā frescoes. In the scene representing the miracle at Śrāvastī the naked Kshapaṇakas are, however, shown with clean shaven heads,⁸ whereas the Buddha, as also sages, wear matted hair

Women dressed their hair in a variety of ways The Ajantā frescoes exhibit a great many exquisite styles of coiffures It is, however, noteworthy that nowhere in the frescoes in Caves XVI and XVII is any lady shown to have covered her head with the hem of her upper garment as Marāthā ladies of noble birth do at present Male and female servants of foreign descent are in some places shown to have worn a conical cap See, for instance, the picture of such a maid servant with rough features who attends on a royal pair in a scene of the *Viśvantara-Jātaka* in Cave XVII She has worn a green jacket and a conical cap with a tuft at the top⁹ Again, we do not see women of the age using a veil Only in one picture has Mr Yazdani noticed what appears like a veil In the scene which represents the Buddha preaching to his mother in the Tushita heaven, one of the dēvis appears to have worn 'an embroidered head-dress to which is attached a veil of white gauze such as is worn by brides in European countries'¹⁰ Everywhere else women appear without a veil as in Mahārāshtra at present

It is, however, noteworthy that women of Vidarbha did not apply a *tilaka* to their forehead in the Vākātaka age as they do at present¹¹ That this custom was, however, prevalent in some places is clear from Kālidāsa's description in the *Raghuvamśa*, XVIII, 44.

Men and women were very fond of jewellery in the Vākātaka age Merchants, middle class people and servants generally appear without jewellery on their person, but kings, princes, high officers, queens and wives of rich people as also their maids are represented with a variety of ornaments As stated before, kings used to wear a high jewelled diadem They also put on jewelled ear-ornaments (*kundalas*) and necklaces of pearls or gems Their arms were adorned with jewelled armlets (*angadas*), with strings of pearls hanging from them¹². In his description of the *svayamvara* of Indumatī, Kālidāsa describes how one of the princes who

¹ Cf. धोतदुकूलपाटिकापरिवेष्टितमौलि in the *Hansacharita*

² *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl XXXIX

³ *Loc cit.*

⁴ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXIII

⁵ *Ibid*, Part III, Pl LXIII

⁶ In the *Uttararamacharita*, Bhavabhūti describes Lava as having five *chūdās* of this type.

⁷ *Ajanta*, Part IV, Pl LXXV(a)

⁸ *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XLIII (b)

⁹ *Ibid.*, Part III, Pl LXVI

¹⁰ *Ibid*, Part IV, p 67, Pl XL (a)

¹¹ In the paintings of the earlier caves at Ajantā, however, such a *tilaka* is noticed on the forehead of women See *Ajanta*, Part III, Pl. XXIV.

¹² *Ibid*, Part IV, Pl XXXIX

attended it had to extricate his necklace which had got entangled in his armlet¹ Rich men wore golden wristlets (*kanaka-valayas*) In the *Mēghadūta* Kālidāsa describes how the forearm of the exiled Yaksha, who had become emaciated owing to separation from his beloved, appeared bare by the fall of a golden wristlet² The fingers were adorned with rings. The confusion caused in the *Śākuntala* by the loss of the signet ring of Dushyanta is well known Rich people wore a many-stringed pearl necklace after the manner of a *yajñopavīta* The pictures of kings and princes assembled to hear the sermon of the Buddha or that of the flying Indra in Cave XVII³ give us a fairly clear idea of the jewellery worn by rich men in the Vākātaka age That boys also wore similar ornaments will be clear from the picture of Rāhula, who goes forth to welcome the Buddha

Women too put on very varied and beautiful jewellery In many of the frescoes at Ajantā women are shown with a head-ornament called *lalāṭikā*, one string of which followed the parting line of hair Bāna has described it as ' a *tilaka-manī* kissing the *sīmanta* ' This *lalāṭikā* had, in some cases, a cluster of pearls or a round golden disc suspended on the forehead, which gave it the name *chatulā-ṭilaka*⁴ Boys also wore this kind of ornament See, for instance, the pictures of Yaśodharā and Rāhula welcoming the Buddha in Ajantā Cave XVI⁵ Some women wore a network of pearls in their hair, which Kālidāsa has mentioned in the *Mēghadūta*, v 65 They also put on pearl-necklaces of one or more strings In the *Mēghadūta* Kālidāsa mentions a pearl-necklace with a large sapphire woven in the middle⁶ Some women used to wear *kanṭhikās* (necklaces) of rubies and emeralds, while others liked those made of gold coins (*nishkas*) Several Indian and Roman coins have been found in excavations, with a hole at the top, which shows that they were worn in such necklaces.

Nowhere in Ajantā frescoes do we notice the nose-ornament now worn by Mahārāshtrian ladies It had not, evidently, come into vogue in that age The main ornaments of women then were the *lalāṭikā* in the hair, round ear-rings, jewelled armlets with pearl-strings suspended from them and bracelets of gold They also wore jewelled girdles called *manimēkhalās* When these girdles were equipped with small bells, they were called *kāñchīs* Kālidāsa describes how women wearing such a girdle used to attract domestic swans They also wore anklets, which, however, were not thick like those used by women of North India The ornaments worn by women of Vīdarbha showed a much more refined taste

Men used a footwear which was tied with straps near the ankle⁷ When they went to fight or hunt, they had a sword suspended from their belt and a dagger fixed in it The accoutrement of horses such as the saddle, bridle etc was just as at present,⁸ but the stirrups are nowhere noticed Horses for riding were well decorated The warrior's quiver of arrows was fastened to the saddle Foot-soldiers used to tie it on their back Elephants were adorned with gold ornaments and pearl strings, with large discs suspended on their trunks, but their bodies are nowhere noticed painted as described by Kālidāsa in the *Mēghadūta*, v 19 Nor do we notice a *howdah* on the back of any elephant

¹ *Raghuvamśa*, Canto VI, v 14

² Cf कनकवलयभ्रशरिक्तप्रकोष्ठ । *Mēghadūta*, v 2

³ Ajanta, Part III, Pl LXVII

⁴ Cf सुवर्णशृङ्खलाबद्धो नानारत्नौघमण्डित । ललाटलम्ब्यलकारश्चटुलातिलको मत ॥ Com. on the *Harshacharita*, p. 32.

⁵ Ajanta, Part IV, Pl. XLI

⁶ *Mēghadūta*, v 48

⁷ Ajanta, Part III, Pl. LXII.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Part IV, Pl LXVIII (b)

Among weapons of war we find swords, spears, daggers, arrows etc. Swords were generally curved in shape, though straight ones sheathed in scabbards are also noticed. The latter were suspended from the girdles of warriors or were tied to the saddles of riding horses. Shields were rectangular and curved, though round ones also are noticed in some places.

Among household articles we may mention umbrellas which were either rectangular or square. The royal umbrella held over the heads of kings and queens was, however, round in shape. Fly-whisks were like those now in use, but fans were rectangular and elongated.

Among musical instruments are noticed tabors (*mṛdaṅgas*), conches, symbals, flutes and lutes with one or more strings. The tabor, while being played upon, was suspended from the neck.

Among animals we notice elephants, horses, cows, bullocks, tigers, lions, deer, monkeys, and dogs. The camel is, however, nowhere seen. Among aquatic animals we find the fish, the tortoise and the crocodile painted. Other animals have not been painted evidently for want of occasion.

CHAPTER X

LITERATURE

IT is well-known that in the fourth and fifth centuries A C Sanskrit literature flourished as it had never done before. This was no doubt mainly due to the liberal patronage which the Gupta kings extended to Sanskrit authors at their court. Some of these kings were poets of no mean order. From the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription we learn that the great Gupta Emperor Samudragupta had obtained the title of *Kavirāja*, 'King of poets', by his several poetical compositions which even learned men found fit to draw upon ¹. His son Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya was probably the author of several *subhāshitas* current under the name of Vikramāditya, collected in some Sanskrit anthologies ². According to a tradition recorded by Rājasēkhara, he submitted himself to a test in the assembly of learned men at Ujjayinī ³. When kings themselves took such an active interest in poetry, it is no wonder that their officers and subjects also did likewise ⁴. Some of the officers of the Guptas are known to have been poets. Besides Harishēna, the famous author of the Allāhābād *prāsaśt* of Samudragupta, who held the high offices of *Sāndhvirgrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahādanḍanāyaka* during the reign of Samudragupta, we know of Śāba of the Kautsa *gōtra*, the *Sāndhvirgrahika* of Chandragupta II, who is described as the poet of Pātaliputra in the Udayagiri cave inscription. Several other princes and officers must have similarly distinguished themselves in that age by their practice of the poetic art.

This state of things was not, however, confined to the north. In the south also poetry as well as other fine arts flourished at the Vākātaka court. The first thing that strikes us is that almost all Vākātaka grants are throughout written in Sanskrit. The only exception is the Bāsim grant of Vindhyaśakti II, but in this case also the genealogical portion is in Sanskrit. This grant shows how Sanskrit began gradually to supplant Prakrit in the drafting of royal charters. Most of the Vākātaka grants are written in prose and in a matter-of-fact manner, and are therefore wholly devoid of poetic embellishment. This does not however, indicate that the Vākātakas took no interest in Sanskrit poetry. From the *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa we know of a *subhāshita* composed by *Kuvarāja* Divākaraśēna who is probably identical with the homonymous boy-prince for whom Prabhāvati-guptā was acting as a regent ⁶. Some other *subhāshitas* are ascribed to Pravarasēna. Several good Sanskrit *kāvyas* must have been written in that age in Vaidarbha under the liberal patronage of the Vākātakas, though they have now passed into oblivion; for, otherwise, early rhetoricians like Dandin would not have regarded Vaidarbhī as the best style of Sanskrit poetry, and Kālidāsa, the poet of Mālava, would not have adopted it for the composition of his works ⁷.

¹ *CII*, Vol III, p 8. Fleet's translation of *vidvadj-ajana-opajīvyamāna-kāvya-kṛtyābhin* as 'by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned men' is evidently incorrect.

² *Kavīndhavadhanasamuchchaya*, ed. by F. W. Thomas, Introd., pp 160 f.

³ Rājasēkhara, *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* (G. O. S., first ed.), pp 105 f.

⁴ Cf. राजनि कवी सर्वो लोक कवि स्यात् । *Ibid*, p 54.

⁵ *CII*, Vol III, p 35.

⁶ *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (ed. by H. D. Sharma), II, 31, 4.

⁷ That Kālidāsa composed his works in the *Vaidarbhī* *riti* is well known. Cf. लिप्ता मधुद्वेणासन् यस्य निविषया गिर । तेनेद वत्स वैदर्भ कालिदासेन शोधितम् ॥ *Avantisundarikathā*, p 2.

One of Kālidāsa's works, the lovely lyric *Mēghadūta*, may be regarded as a *kāvya* of Vīdarbha, since it was probably composed during the great poet's sojourn at the Vākātaka court. The subject matter of the *kāvya* is the message which a *yaksha*, exiled from Alakā because of dereliction of duty, sends by a cloud-messenger to his beloved at the approach of the rainy season. The *yaksha* gives a graphic description of the places, mountains and rivers on the route of the cloud from Rāmagiri, where he was staying, to his home in Alakā. As I have shown elsewhere,¹ this Rāmagiri is undoubtedly modern Rāmtēk, 28 miles from Nāgpur, which has maintained its reputation as a holy place to this day. Several grants of the Vākātakas were made at the temple of Rāmchandra, called Rāmagiri-svāmin,² or that hill. As Rāmagiri was only about three miles from the then Vākātaka capital Nandīvardhana, Kālidāsa must have visited it many times. It was evidently at this place that the theme of the *Mēghadūta* suggested itself to him. This *kāvya* composed in Vīdarbha has evoked unstinted praise from all critics. "It is difficult to praise too highly," says Keith "either the brilliance of the description of the cloud's progress or the pathos of the picture of the wife, sorrowful and alone. Indian criticism has ranked it highest among Kālidāsa's poems for brevity of expression, richness of content and power to elicit sentiment, and the praise is not undeserved."³

As stated before, the inscriptions of the Vākātaka kings are in prose, but those of their ministers and feudatories are either wholly or partly in verse. They are composed in a lucid style and are, in many places, embellished with figures of word and sense.⁴ Some of their verses would be good illustrations of the Vaidarbhi style.

Prakrit poetry also received a fresh impetus during the enlightened regime of the Vākātaka kings. These kings were not only patrons of learned men, but also authors of excellent Prakrit *kāvyas* and *subhāshitas*. Of these the earliest is Sarvasēna, the founder of the Vatsagulma branch, who composed the Prakrit *kāvya* *Harivijaya*. Sarvasēna had indeed long been known as the author of this Prakrit *kāvya* from the references to him in the works of Ānandavardhana, Hēmachandra and other rhetoricians, but that he was a king became known only from a mutilated verse⁵ in the fragmentary *Avantisundarikathā*, to which I drew attention recently. History knows of only one king of this name, viz., he who founded the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākātaka dynasty. He must therefore have been the author of this *kāvya*.

The *Harivijaya* is not now extant, but we can form a fair idea about its theme, nature, etc. from the quotations and references in the works of later rhetoricians. In the *Dhvanyāloka*, Ānandavardhana states that Sarvasēna had altered the original story and introduced some imaginary incidents in it in order to make it suitable for the delineation of the intended sentiment.⁶ Ānandavardhana does not state what the story was, but here his commentator Abhinavagupta comes to our help. He states that the *Harivijaya* had for its theme the removal of the Pārijāta tree from heaven, which was done by Krishna for the appeasement of his wife (evidently Satyabhāmā).⁷ Elsewhere Ānandavardhana cites a Prakrit verse from the *Harivijaya*, which shows that the work was written in the Māhārāshtrī dialect.

¹ *SI*, Vol. I, pp. 12 f.

² No. 8, line 1.

³ Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 86.

⁴ See Nos. 25, 26 and 27. It was the use of *yamakas* in the inscription in cave XVI at Ajantā that enabled me to restore the mutilated name of Sarvasēna in line 6.

⁵ Cf. राजा श्रीसर्वसेनेन विजय हरे ॥ *Avantisundarikatha*, p. 2.

⁶ As the *kāvya* has not come down to us, it is not possible to specify the incidents added by Sarvasēna but one of them may have been the sending of Sātyaki as a *msrīshṭārtha-dūta* to Indra. See below, p.

⁷ See *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirnayasāgar ed.), p. 148.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

Some other Prakrit verses in the *Dhvaṇyālōka* appear to have been taken from the same work, though this has not been explicitly stated by Anandavardhana ¹

The next writer who mentions Sarvasēna is Kuntaka, the famous author of the *Vakroktijīvita*. He classes Sarvasēna with Kālidāsa among writers of the *sukumāra-mārga* (elegant style) ² Bhōja, the author of the *Sarasvatīkanthābharaṇa*, cites two Prakrit verses, which from their contents appear to have been taken from the *Harivijaya*. The first of these states why Satyabhāmā alone in the midst of the other wives of Krishna got enraged by humiliation (when the Pārijāta flowers obtained from heaven were presented by Krishna to Rukminī). The second verse seems to have been addressed by Krishna to Satyabhāmā. Says he, "If I had appeased you, who had become enraged by (the presentation of) flowers (to Rukminī), by offering the same flowers to you, it would not have been in keeping with either my love for you or my offence against you (Hence I am honouring you with the gift of the Pārijāta tree itself)" In his other work *Śiṅgārāprakāśa* also Bhōja cites several verses from the *Harivijaya*. Thus in the *prakāśas* xxii-xxiv, which have been published, as many as six verses have been quoted from that *kāvya* as stated by the editor in the Index of Prakrit verses of those chapters. Several more verses must have been cited in other chapters which are still unpublished.

Hēmachandra, ³ the Jain polymath, has referred to the *Harivijaya* in several places in his *vivṛiti* on the *Alaṅkārahūḍāmaṇi*, which gives us several bits of interesting information. For instance, he tells us that like the *Sētubandha*, the *Harivijaya* was throughout written in one metre (*viz.*, *Skandhaka*) and that the verses in the *Galitaka* metre found therein were later interpolations. The last verse of each canto contained the word *utsāha*, just as that in the *āśvāsas* of the *Sētubandha* contains *anurāga*. Its theme, as stated above, was the forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by subduing India for the appeasement of Satyabhāmā. It seems that Krishna had at first sent Sātyaki as a *nusṛṣṭārtha-dūta*, i.e. as a Commissioner invested with full powers of negotiation. Like other *mahākāvyas* it contained the description of the city (Dvārakā), the hero (Krishna), the season spring, sunset, horses, elephants, drinking parties and so forth. Ultimately, Krishna invaded heaven, vanquished Indra and forced him to part with the celestial tree Pārijāta, which he presented to Satyabhāmā to appease her anger.

The *Harivijaya* is probably the earliest Prakrit *kāvya* known so far ⁴. It fully conforms to the norm of the *mahākāvyas* and seems to have served as a model for the Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa and Pravarasēna II, who flourished in a later age. It seems to have been current in India down to the twelfth century A.C., for, Dandin (7th cen.), Anandavardhana (9th cen.), Kuntaka (10th cen.), Bhōja (11th cen.), Abhinavagupta (11th cen.) and Hēmachandra (12th cen.) either refer to Sarvasēna by name or cite verses referring to incidents in that *kāvya*. I have not seen references to it in later works and no manuscripts of it are known to exist anywhere.

Sarvasēna seems to have composed some Prakrit *gāthās* also. Gangādharaḥṭṭa, whose commentary has been published in the Nirṇayasāgar edition of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*, does

¹For instance the verse *sajjer surahi-māso*, etc., which has been cited in more than one place (*ibid.*, pp. 106, 236 etc.) as descriptive of the vernal season, is also probably taken from the *Harivijaya*, which, as shown below, did contain a description of that season.

²Cf. सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीना काव्यानि लक्ष्यन्ते । *Vakroktijīvita*, p. 71.

³See Hēmachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*, ed. by Rasik Lal, pp. 457 f.

⁴The *Paumachariu* of Vimalasūri was, according to a statement in that work, composed in the year 530 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahavīra i.e. in 64 A.C., but this date is regarded as doubtful. Prof. Jacobi places the *kāvya* 'in the third century A.C. or somewhat later.'

not name Sarvasēna among the known authors of the *gāthās*, but, as Weber has shown, another commentator Bhuvanapāla ascribes two verses, viz., 217 and 234 to him. Pītāmbara, a third commentator, whose commentary on the *gāthās* has been published recently, mentions Sarvasēna's name in connection with two more verses, viz. 504 and 505. The attribution of these *gāthās* to Sarvasēna furnishes additional evidence for the identification of that author with the homonymous king who ruled over Southern Vidarbha.

During the reign of Sarvasēna and his successors, Vatsagulma appears to have become a centre of learning, and the Prakrit *kāvya*s and *subhāshitas* composed there evolved a style called Vachchhōmī (Vātsagulmī), which became a synonym of Vaidarbhī. Rājasēkhara mentions Vachchhōmī in this sense in the opening verse of his *Kārpūramāñjarī*.

Like Sarvasēna, Pravarasēna II of the Senior branch of the Vākātaka family distinguished himself by the composition of Prakrit poetry. He is the reputed author of the Prakrit *kāvya* *Sētubandha*, also called *Rāvanavaho*, in the Mahārāshtrī Prakrit. According to some scholars¹ this Pravarasēna was Pravarasēna II of Kāśhmīr, and the *kāvya* was composed to commemorate a bridge of boats constructed across the river Vitastā. This theory is, however, untenable, for, the *Rājataranginī*, which mentions the construction of the bridge, makes no reference to this *kāvya*.² Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *kāvya*, has, on the other hand, recorded the tradition that the work was actually composed by Kālidāsa, who ascribed it to Pravarasēna by the order of Vikramāditya. This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if this Pravarasēna is identified with Pravarasēna II of the Vākātaka family, for, the latter was the daughter's son of Chandragupta II-Vikramāditya. We have seen above that Kālidāsa, who enjoyed the patronage of Chandragupta II, probably stayed at the Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana for some time, and while there, composed his *Mēghadūta*, which mentions the holy place Rāmagiri, situated not far from that capital. It is therefore not unlikely that he helped his patron's daughter's son Pravarasēna II in composing the *kāvya* during his sojourn in Vidarbha. This explains also the tradition³ preserved by Rāmadāsa that Pravarasēna was called Bhōjadēva, for, Bhōja was the name of the ancient dynasty of Vidarbha. Verse 9 of the first canto of *Sētubandha* states that the work was commenced by Pravarasēna soon after his accession and that he occasionally found it difficult to carry it on.⁴ On such occasions he must have received help from Kālidāsa, which is recorded in the aforementioned tradition as well as in the colophons of the cantos of the Prakrit *kāvya*.

The *Sētubandha* has for its theme the epic story of Rāma from his advance against Rāvaṇa and the building of a bridge of stone to Lankā to his return to Ayōdhya after the extermination of the demon king. The work is divided into fifteen cantos called *āśvāsas*, and contains 1362 verses. The prevailing metre is *Skandhaka*, but verses in other metres also are interspersed in the middle and also added at the end of each canto.

The *Setubandha* is composed in an artistic style considered suitable for a *mahākāvya*, with the use of puns and long compounds. It was plainly written for a public which was well versed in Sanskrit, and contains a description of all the topics considered essential in a Sanskrit *mahākāvya*. It has been highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. Bāṇa says in his *Harshacharita* that by means of this *Sētu* (i.e. *Sētubandha*) the fame of Pravarasēna crossed the ocean, as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge (of Rāma).

¹ Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 331-32, Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 132 f.

² *Rājataranginī*, III, 354.

³ *Sētubandha*, I, 9.

⁴ Cf. अहिणवाआरद्धा चुक्कक्खलिण्णु विहडिअपरिट्ठविआ । मेत्तिव्व पमुहरमिआ णिव्वोद्धु होइ दुक्कर कव्वकहा ॥

Ānandavardhana, the famous critic of the 9th century A.C., bestows high praise on the section of the *kāvya* which describes how Sītā was overwhelmed with grief at the sight of the illusory head of Rāma ¹

Pravarasēna II wrote, besides this *kāvya*, stray Prakrit verses, some of which have been preserved in the aforementioned Prakrit anthology *Gāthāsaptasatī*. The index of the *gāthās* in the Nirnayasāgar edition of this work ascribes five verses viz. 45, 64, 202, 208, and 216 to Pravarasēna, and Pitāmbara adds two more to them, viz. 481 and 565 ². Further, Bhuvanapāla mentions Pravara, Pravara-rāja or Pravarasēna as the author of the following *gāthās* — 46, 126, 158, 203, 209, 321, 341, 567, 734. This Pravarasēna or Pravara-rāja can be none other than the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II, the reputed author of the *Sētubandha*.

It may *prima facie* seem strange that these *gāthās* of the Vākātaka princes Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna II should be included in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*, traditionally ascribed to the Sāta-vāhana king Hāla, who flourished more than three centuries earlier. We should, however, remember, that the *Gāthāsaptasatī* has not come down to us in its original form. As Weber pointed out long ago, the work has undergone six or seven recensions. Only 430 verses are common to all recensions. They may have been the original kernel of the anthology. Several additions and omissions appear to have been made in it from time to time. As I have shown elsewhere, it contains some *gāthās* of Vākpatirāja, who was a junior contemporary of Bhavabhūti and therefore flourished nearly three centuries after Pravarasēna II. It should therefore cause no surprise if some *gāthās* of the aforementioned Vākātaka princes are found included in it.

The existence, in the *Saptasatī*, of several *gāthās* composed by the two Vākātaka kings Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna II, raises the interesting question whether that anthology contains any other *gāthās* composed by other Vākātaka princes. We now possess complete lists of the princes of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vākātaka dynasty. None of these except Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna (II) figure in the list of the authors of verses of the *Saptasatī*. But there were two other branches of the family ruling perhaps in Kuntala and Dakṣiṇa Kōśala. They had no doubt a short life of about 50 years (*circa* 330-380 A.C.), but they must have produced some princes. As the names of the members of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches invariably end in *sēna*, the names of these princes also may have ended in *sēna*. The *Gāthāsaptasatī* mentions five such names viz. Jayasēna (v. 170), Makarandasēna (vv. 6, 80, 90), Satyasēna (vv. 233, and 298), Mallasēna (v. 237) and Vasantasēna (v. 323). The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that some of these poets, if not all, belonged to the Vākātaka family. Its corroboration will have to be left to future research.

Besides the *Sētubandha* of Pravarasēna II, there was another work called *Sētu* which also was probably produced in the Vākātaka age. The *Avantisundarīkathā* has the following verse in its introductory portion eulogising early Sanskrit and Prakrit poets —

सेतुरूपेण तिष्ठन्तो लोके सद्वस्तुर्दाशनः ।

षट्षञ्चाशत् प्रमाणत्वं गता न कविपुङ्गवाः ॥

This verse mentions fifty-six poets, who are described as *kavi-pungava* 'eminent poets'. They had an insight into the real nature of things and attained the position of authority in their own sphere. Another piece of interesting information that this verse gives is that these

¹ *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirnayasāgar ed., 1911), p. 148. Ānandavardhana says that the figures of sense (*arthālankāras*) vie with one another in pressing themselves on the attention of the author while his mind was engrossed in describing the pathetic scene.

² The numbers of *gāthās* cited here refer to those in the Nirnayasāgar edition, of the *Gāthāsaptasatī*.

poets, though dead, continued to live in this world in the form of *Sētu*. This was therefore the name of their work which was quite well known in the time of Dandin.

The poets and works eulogised in the introductory verses of the *Avantisundarīkathā* appear to have been mentioned in the chronological order. The aforementioned verse about the *Sētu* occurs immediately after that describing Sarvasēna's *Harivyaya* and before another eulogising Kālidāsa. This work therefore appears to have been produced in the Vākātaka age. Since it was composed by fifty-six poets, it could not have been identical with the *Sētubandha* of Pravarasena II. Curious as it might appear, we have a similar name viz., Chhappannaya (Sanskrit, Shatpañchāṣat) mentioned among those of Prakrit poets in the following verse of the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotanasūri (778 A.C.)¹.—

पालित्तयसालाहणछप्पणयसीहनायसहेण ।

सखुद्धमुद्धसाला उव्व कह ता पय देमि ॥

‘How can I take any steps, being, like a simple deer, terrified by the roar of the lions, viz., Pālittaya, Sālāhana and Chhappannaya?’

This verse speaks of three poets Pālittaya, Sālāhana and Chhappannaya. Pālittaya (or Pādalipta) and Hāla are well-known Prakrit poets. Like them, Chhappannaya also was probably a Prakrit poet. The *Kuvalayamālā* eulogises him as follows.—

छप्पणयाण किं वा भन्तइ कयकुजराण भुवणमि ।

अन्तो वि छेयभणिओ अज्ज वि उवमिज्जए जेह ॥

‘What need be said about the Chhappannayas, the eminent poets, with whom even now a poet of clever sayings is compared in this world!’

The first thing that strikes us in this eulogy is that Uddyotana has used the plural number in praising Chhappannaya. That this is not for the purpose of showing respect to the poet appears clear from other verses in which Uddyōtana has used the singular in referring to such great poets as Pālittaya, Hāla, Bāna, Dēvagupta, nay his own teacher Haribhadra. Chhappannaya, which means fifty-six, was therefore probably the name of a group of poets. These fifty-six poets probably formed a *Kavi-mandala* and published a work under their collective name.

As stated before, this *Sētu* could not have been identical with the *Sētubandha*. The latter is a Prakrit *kāvya* of the same type as the *Kumārasambhava*, *Kirātārjunīya* and *Sisupālavadhā*. Its several cantos have a unity of purpose and a uniformity of style such as one can hardly expect in a heterogeneous work composed by as many as fifty-six poets. Besides, none of the later writers who have referred to it have even hinted that it was a compilation of verses composed by several poets. There must therefore have been another work named *Sētu*, which was of the type of an anthology. This is also suggested by the eulogy of Uddyōtana. He says that the fifty-six poets were famous for clever sayings (*Chhēka-bhanitas*) so much so that they became the standards of comparison for later poets. Their verses were probably of the same type as the Sanskrit *subhāshitas*, in which by means of a few strokes they depicted an interesting situation.

It is not unlikely that there was such an anthology in the Vākātaka age. As we have seen, the Vākātaka princes Sarvasēna and Pravarasēna II composed *gāthās* which were later incorporated into the *Gāthāsaptasatī*. Several other poets, not known to history, whose *gāthās* are included in the *Gāthāsaptasatī*, must have flourished in the same age. It should therefore cause no surprise if a compilation of such *gāthās* was made in that age under the name of *Sētu*. The anthology seems to have become current as the work of fifty-six poets who

¹See C. D. Dalal's Notes to his edition of the *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (G. O. S.)

contributed to it, and by its excellence became the standard by which the work of subsequent poets was judged. When the anthology went out of vogue in later times, some of its verses seem to have been incorporated into the earlier anthology of Hāla. This appears to be the only satisfactory explanation of the statements of Daṇḍin and Uddyōtanasūri regarding the fifty-six poets and their work *Sētū*.

CHAPTER XI

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE AND PAINTING

IN architecture, sculpture and painting the achievements of the Vākātaka age were as outstanding as in literature. There were several temples erected in that age, some of which are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Vākātakas such as the *Dharmasthāna* at Chikamburi, the temple of Pravarēśvara which gave its name to the territorial division Pravarēśvara-shadvimśati-vātaka, the temple of Rāmagirisvāmin on Rāmagiri (modern Rāmtēk) and the temple of Mahāpurusha (Vishṇu) in Aśvatthakhētaka (modern Pattan). Besides, there was a beautiful temple of Rāmachandra built by Pravarasēna II at his new capital Pravarapura, evidently at the instance of his mother Prabhāvatīguptā. But none of these structures is now extant. There is indeed a temple of Rāmachandra on the hill near Rāmtēk, but it has not retained its original shape. As the territory under the rule of the Vākātakas has not yet been thoroughly surveyed, we have no knowledge of the remains of the structures of that age if any still exist. The only place where we find some remnants is the hill at Rāmtēk. On a spur of that hill north-east of the Varāha Gate, there are still some remains of an ancient building which may go back to the Vākātaka age. There seems to have been a large structure erected at this place, but of it only a small *mandapa* open on all sides is what now remains. As in the case of the Gupta temples, it has a flat roof supported by six pillars, four of which are decorated with the lotus motif. We have no knowledge of the image installed in this temple, but it seems to have been some incarnation of Vishṇu, for, there is still by its side what appears to have been originally a beautiful image of Trivikrama,¹ now sadly mutilated. The god has a crown on his head, with a halo round his face. He wears the *kuṇḍalas* on his ears and a pearl-necklace with a large pendant round his neck. His *vaijyantī* garland is shown falling on both his legs. He wears an *udarabandha*. His lower garment, which is fastened at the waist with a girdle, hangs down in folds in front. His arms are now broken on both the sides, but their jewelled *angadas*, (armlets) can still be seen. His left foot is planted on the ground, while the right foot, which was raised to measure the sky, is now broken at the knee. The pose shows his determination to rescue the three worlds from the demon king Bali. The latter is standing in the *tribhanga* pose at the god's feet in an attitude of reverence. The image of his queen who was standing by his side is now very much mutilated. In its original condition this panel must undoubtedly have been reckoned among the best products of the Vākātaka age.

As stated before, there was a temple of Rāmachandra at Pravarapura, modern Pavnār near Wardhā. It was decorated with several panels, some of which were discovered from time to time while digging in the fields round Śrī Vinōbājī's *āśrama* on the left bank of the river Dhām. As these sculptures were not seen by any archaeologists, their importance was not realised for several years. When I visited the place in 1949, they attracted my attention at once. I photographed them and brought them to the notice of scholars at the fifteenth session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Bombay in that year. Later, some more panels were discovered at the same place. I have described them elsewhere.² Here I shall take up some of the important ones.

¹ See Plate A

² *Sarūpa-Bhārati*, pp. 271 f., *SI*, Vol. II, pp. 272 f.

THE IMAGE OF TRIVIKRAMA FROM RĀMTE"



(from photograph)

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VOL V

Plate B

THE PANEL "MEETING OF BHARATA" FROM PAVNĀR



(from photograph)

One of these panels is now housed in a small hut erected for the purpose near the *āśrama*. It is 3' 8" by 3' 5" in size and is named *Bharata-bhēta* (Meeting of Bharata)¹. There are four figures in this panel, *viz*, Sītā, Rāma, Bharata and Lakshmana. One other figure appears by the side of Sītā, but it is partially cut. This panel, being more than 1500 years old, is now much worn out; but still the figures are fairly clear. Sītā has clasped the arm of Rāma, who is speaking to Bharata. He has affectionately placed his left hand on the right palm of Bharata. Rama's face has a serene look. Bharata, who has slightly bent down his face, appears delighted to meet his revered elder brother. Lakshmana, on the other hand, has turned his face away and appears disconsolate. All of them are clad only in a lower garment which appears striped as in the frescoes at Ajantā. Rāma and Lakshmana wear matted hair. Bharata's hair has fallen on both his shoulders. All the figures are very well modelled. Rāma's body appears graceful and Lakshmana's muscular. There is no artificiality seen anywhere in the modelling or pose of any of the figures. Naturalness, restraint and simplicity, which are known to be the characteristics of the sculptures of the Gupta age, are noticed in the figures of this panel. It must therefore be referred to the Vākātaka-Gupta age.

This panel is rightly named *Bharata-bhēta* by Śhrī Vinōbā, but this meeting of Rāma and Bharata is not the one which took place at Nandigrāma after Rāma's return from Lankā. It is the earlier one which occurred at Chitrakūta. We know from Vālmīki's *Rāmāyana* that Bharata, on his return to Ayōdhyā, came to know of the exile of Rāma and the death of Daśaratha. He at once decided to bring Rāma back, and for that purpose started in search of him, accompanied by his ministers and army as well as the people of Ayōdhyā. Rāma was then staying at the Chitrakūta hill. When he noticed a large cloud of dust in the distance, he asked Lakshmana to find out the cause of it. The latter climbed a tree, and from the banner marked by the *kōvidāra* tree, he inferred that Bharata was coming towards them. He suspected that Bharata's object in coming with a large army was to do away with them and thus to get the throne permanently. Rāma could, however, guess the real purpose of Bharata's visit. He tried to disabuse Lakshmana's mind of that suspicion by telling him that Bharata must be coming there to take them back to Ayōdhyā. But Lakshmana was not convinced.² This attitude of Lakshmana's mind is skilfully shown by the sculptor in the present panels. While Rāma and Bharata are engaged in a heart-to-heart talk, Lakshmana is looking in the opposite direction. Indifference, if not positive hostility, is imprinted on his face.

This panel, the interpretation of which is quite certain, affords a key to the understanding of the other panels found near the *āśrama*. It shows that the temple to which it was affixed must have been dedicated to Rāma. The other panels also must, evidently, have been related to some incident or other in the life of Rāma. And this is what we actually find to be the case, for, some of the other panels portray such events as the birth of Rāma, the death of Daśaratha, the departure of Rāma and others to the forest, the fight of Sugrīva and Vālīn, etc. Most of these are now sadly mutilated. But there remains one which is fairly intact.

This panel,³ 4' 4" by 2' 11" in size, portrays the scene when, in the course of the fighting between Sugrīva and Vālīn, the latter fell down, being hit by an arrow of Rāma, who, together with Lakshmana and Hanumān, had concealed himself behind some palm

¹ See Plate B

² *Rāmāyana*, IV, 17, 35-43, 18, 6-7, 18, 21.

³ See Plate C

trees When Vālin fell down, Rāma, Lakshmana and Hanumān approached him Vālin then rebuked Rāma for attacking him while he was engaged in fighting with another Rāma justified his action on the ground that Vālin deserved the extreme punishment as he had violated his brother's wife in utter disregard of the eternal law of moral conduct¹ This scene is portrayed in the panel It shows four figures Vālin has fallen on the ground With his right hand he is supporting his head which was reeling with the loss of blood caused by the wound He is looking up to accost and rebuke Rāma The latter is seen in the *pratyālīdha* posture, with the left knee advanced and the right leg drawn back His left hand is placed on the forward thigh, while the right hand is holding something He wears a small necklace and has an *udarabandha* and a *katibandha* His body is gracefully modelled He has a haughty demeanour as he flings back the accusation of Vālin and justifies his own action Lakshmana and Sugrīva are standing behind Rāma The trees from behind which Rāma shot his arrow are shown by means of the conventional large flowers in the upper right corner They are of the same type as those in the well-known panel of *Ahalyōddhāra* (Redemption of Ahalyā) in the Gupta temple at Dēogadh in Madhya Pradesh² This beautiful panel undoubtedly belongs to the Vākātaka-Gupta age

The conjecture about the erection of a temple dedicated to Rāma by Pravara-sena II at his new capital Pravara-pura, which was made by me several years ago, was based only on the evidence of these panels and was not substantiated by any inscription That evidence has now become available unexpectedly Recently, while digging in the courtyard of Vinōbāji's *āśrama*, the image of a female deity, about 6 ft in height, was discovered³ Originally it was four-armed, but now all the arms are broken The goddess wears several beautifully carved necklaces, a *vaikakshaka*, an exquisitely carved *mekhalā* (girdle) and anklets Her hair is modelled in a coiled fashion which was in vogue in the Gupta-Vākātaka age Her face is serene. She is standing on a crocodile, which marks her out as the river goddess Gangā The identification is placed beyond doubt by the inscription carved to the proper right side of her legs, viz *Gangā Bhagavati* (i.e. Goddess Gangā) The characters of the inscription closely resemble those of the Pattan plates of Pravara-sena II and leave no doubt that the image is of the Vākātaka age. This find clearly shows that there was a magnificent temple of that age just where Vinōbāji's *āśrama* is now situated.

As stated before, none of the temples built by the Vākātakas is now extant, but two shrines erected by their feudatories are still standing, from which we can form a fair idea of the religious buildings of that age

The first of these is at Tīgōwā near Bahuribandh in the Jabalpur District of Madhya Pradesh Tīgōwā is probably a corruption of *Tingīāma* (Three Villages), the other two of the triad being Angōrā and Dēorī It is reported that there was, in ancient times, a large town at Bahuribandh, which had Tīgōwā and the other villages as its suburbs There is still at Bahuribandh a colossal statue of the Jaina Tīrthankara Śāntinātha, with an inscription of the reign of the Kalachuri king Gayākarna (11th century A.C.) on its pedestal,⁴ which testifies to the importance of the place in old days When Cunningham visited Tīgōwā in 1873-74, he noticed there, besides two Gupta temples, the foundations of as many as thirty-six shrines which had been utterly destroyed by a railway contractor⁵

¹ *Rāmāyana*, II, 96, 18, 23-24

² *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M.A.S.I., No. 70), plate XVI

³ See Plate D

⁴ *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, pp. 309 f

⁵ *C.A.S.I.*, Vol. IX, p. 41

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Plate C

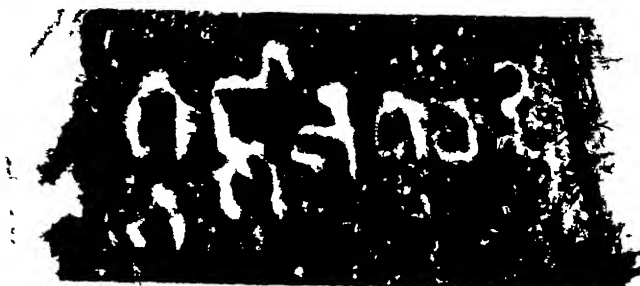
THE PANEL "KILLING OF VĀLĪ" FROM PAVNĀR



(1) The Image of Gangā from Pavnār



(11) The Inscription on the Image of Gangā



Fortunately, there is still at Tīgōwā an old temple of the Gupta age in a good state of preservation. It possesses all the common characteristics of the early Gupta temples¹ noticed at Sāñchī and Ēran and may therefore be referred to the middle of the fifth century A C. Tīgōwā lies about 65 miles from Bāndhōgadh, which was probably the capital of the Pāṇḍavavamśī kings of Mēkalā. The temple may have been erected during the time of the Pāṇḍavavamśī king Bharatabala, who flourished in *circa* 450 A C. As already shown², he was a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna. The temple at Tīgōwā may therefore be supposed to represent the temple architecture and sculpture of the Vākātaka age³.

This temple⁴ is now dedicated to the goddess Kankālī. It measures 12 ft 9 in in length and breadth and has a flat roof. In front there is a portico supported on four pillars. The middle intercolumniation is 2 ft 9 in, while that on either side is only 2 ft 6 in. Such a difference is noticed in the porticos of the early temples at Sāñchī, Udayagiri and Ēran, and is, therefore, supposed to be 'one of the minor marks of the Gupta style'. All the four pillars are exactly of the same type with a slight difference in their capitals. Each has a plain square base. Above this it has an octagonal portion which is beautifully decorated with lotus and other designs. The shaft then becomes sixteen-sided and thereafter circular. This is surmounted by a fluted bell. From each corner of the square portion above the bell a small foliated turnover hangs gracefully down. The square capital of each pillar is decorated with two chaitya-window bosses, having the head of a man or a lion peeping through them. The upper portion of the capital shows two couchant lions back to back with some tree like the mango or the palm between them. The lions at the corners of two adjacent sides have a common face. Similar capitals are noticed in the case of the pillars of the Gupta temple at Ēran.

The *garbhagriha* of this temple measures 8 ft by 7½ ft. Its entrance door is decorated with the designs of the custard-apple. Immediately above the door-frame there is a line of 7 square bosses, which, though used for decoration here, originally represented the ends of the beams of a wooden structure. There is another line of thirteen square bosses just below the roof. The architrave over the door frame is extended beyond the jambs of the two sides, below which appear the panels of the river-goddesses, the Gangā on the left and the Yamunā on the right. The Gangā⁵ is shown in the *tribhanga* posture, standing on a crocodile which is swallowing a human being. On her right is standing a female attendant with some offerings which the goddess is touching with her right hand in token of acceptance. On her left there is a male chowri-bearer. In her left hand the goddess has a fruit of the custard-apple tree which has spread its branches over her head.

¹ These are thus stated by Cunningham —(i) a flat roof without a spire, (ii) prolongation of the door-lintel beyond the jambs, (iii) statues of the Gangā and Yamunā guarding the entrance door; (iv) pillars with massive capitals, ornamented with two lions back to back with a tree between them; (v) continuation of the architrave of the portico as a moulding all round the building etc. *C A S I* Vol. IX, pp 42-43.

² Above, p xxvi.

³ In later times the territory round Tīgōwā was included in the dominion of the Parivrājaka kings. This is indicated by the Bētul plates of Sankshōbha dated in the Gupta year 199 (518 A C), which record the grant of two villages in the *vishaya* of Tripurī (modern Tēwar near Jabalpur). There is no reason to suppose that the Parivrājakas had extended their authority so far to the south as early as 450 A C, to which date the Tīgōwā temple may be referred on the evidence of its architecture. In this earlier age the country was probably included in the dominion of the Pāṇḍavavamśīs of Mēkalā, who were feudatories of the Vākātakas.

⁴ See Plate E.

⁵ See Plate F.

The figure of the goddess is beautifully modelled. She has a multi-stringed pearl *lalāṭikā* in her hair, round *kundalas* on the ears, jewel and pearl necklaces, one of which hangs down between her plump breasts, as well as a beautiful *raśanā*, bracelets and anklets. A long garland hangs down over her left leg. Her face shows perfect grace. This is one of the best sculptures of that age.

There is a similar panel of the river goddess Yamunā¹ to the right of the entrance door. She is standing on a tortoise under a mango tree. She has held its branch with her raised left hand and is plucking a fruit with the right. She has a male and a female attendant on her right and left respectively. Both of them are standing on lotus stalks.

This temple at Tīgowā has a flat roof and is therefore of an earlier age than the Gupta temple at Dēogadh which had a low pyramidal spire. The latter is referred to the early part of the sixth century A.C.² The temple at Tīgowā may therefore be dated about the middle of the fifth century A.C. Some time later its portico was turned into a *mandapa* by closing the opening on both the sides by means of sculptured slabs, and another portico was added in front. The latter has now totally disappeared except for a slab on the right with the sculptured image of the Buddha incarnation of Vishnu, which appears to have been added in a still later age.

Of the sculptured slabs used to close the opening of the original portico on the left the upper one contains an image of the eight-armed goddess Kālī. She holds in her hand a bow, a *pattisā* and other weapons as also two shields. She is surrounded on both the sides by skeleton figures who are praying or making offerings to her. The lower panel on the same side shows the four-armed god Vishnu sleeping on the coils of the serpent Śēsha, who has spread his hoods over the god's head. The god holds the discus and the conch in his left hands. His upper right hand supports his head, while the lower one is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. On the lotus which has sprung from his navel sits the god Brahmā. Lakshmī, the consort of Vishnu, is shampooing his feet. The upper slab on the right side has another panel of the goddess Kālī, while the lower one shows the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. On one of the pillars of the portico there is the following inscription in three lines, *Siddhah Sētabhadra sthāna-sāmānya-bhaṭṭaputra-Umadēvah Karnnakuvja-sanīpah*. On the evidence of paleography this inscription appears to be of about the eighth century A.C., which may also represent the age when these sculptured slabs were added to close the openings on the two sides of the original portico. As stated before, the panel of the Buddha incarnation must have been added in a still later age.

Another temple of the Vākātaka age exists at Nachnā in former Vindhya Pradesh.³ Both at Nachnā and Ganj which lies only about two miles to its east, stone inscriptions of Vyāghradēva, a feudatory of the Vākātaka king Prithivishēna II, have been discovered.⁴ As shown before, this Vyāghradēva is probably identical with the Uchchakalpa prince Vyāghra who flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century A.C. This territory was, therefore, undoubtedly included in the empire of the Vākātakas in that period. Cunningham found two temples at Nachnā, of which the earlier one, said to be dedicated to the goddess Pārvatī, probably belongs to the Vākātaka age.⁵ The *garbhagriha* has now no image on its pedestal.

¹ See Plate G.

² *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M.A.S.I., No. 70), p. 11.

³ See Plate H.

⁴ Nos. 20-22.

⁵ *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 96. Banerji thought that this temple was decidedly of the early Gupta period, i.e. 4th-5th century A.C. *P.R.A.S.I.*, *W.C.* for 1918-19, p. 61.

THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWĀ



(From photograph)

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CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

VOL V

PLATE F

THE IMAGE OF GANGĀ ON THE DOOR-WAY OF THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWĀ



CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

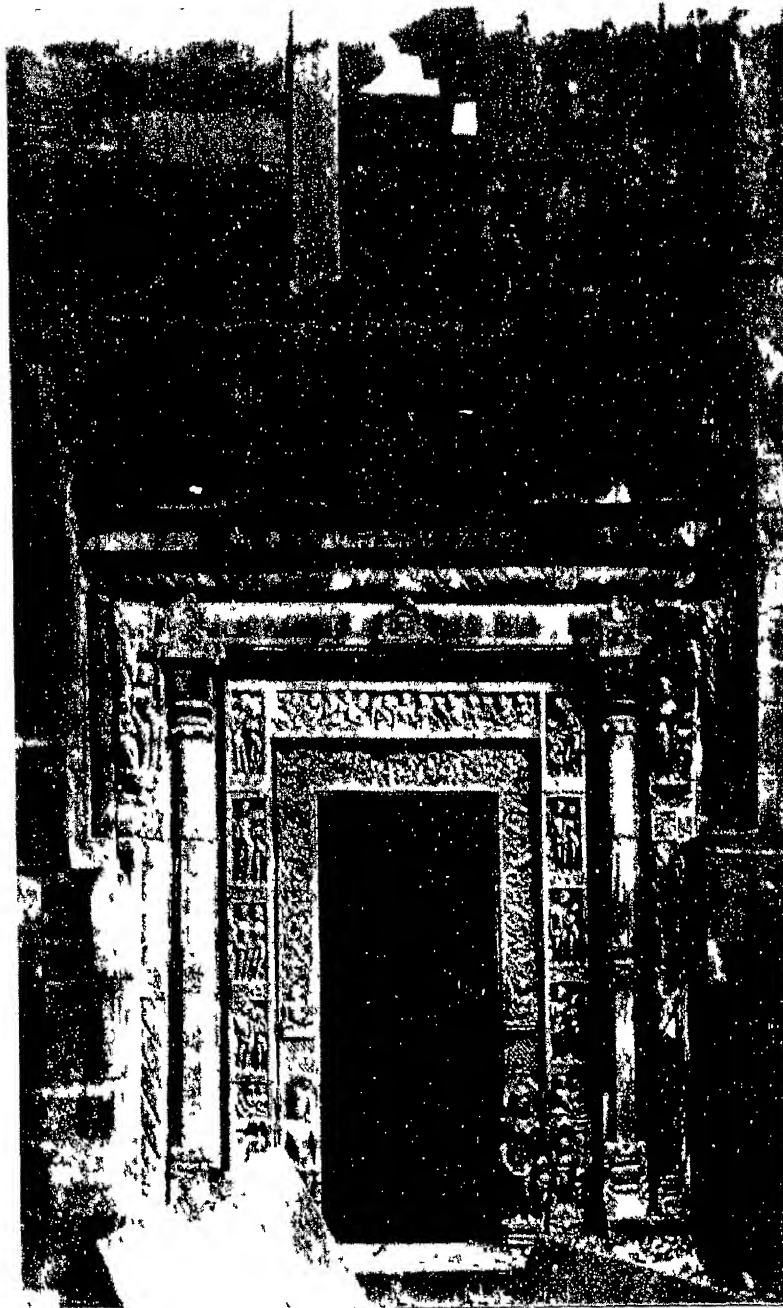
VOL V

PLATE G

THE IMAGE OF YAMUNĀ ON THE DOOR-WAY OF THE TEMPLE AT TIGŌWĀ



THE TEMPLE AT NACHNĀ



(from photograph)

This temple also is flat-roofed like that at Tigowā, but it is two-storeyed, the place of the later spire being taken by a small chamber constructed over the *garbhagriha*. There is no staircase to reach this upper chamber. It seems, therefore, to have been intended to indicate the position of the sanctum. The roof of this chamber also is flat, clearly showing that there was no *śikhara* over it. This chamber, in course of time, developed into the *śikhara*, of which we find the earliest form in the Gupta temple at Dēogadh.¹ The temple at Nachnā is thus somewhat later than that at Tigowā, but earlier than the one at Dēogadh. It may therefore be referred approximately to the last quarter of the fifth century A.C.

Another peculiarity of the Pārvatī temple at Nachnā is that it has a covered *pradakṣhīnā-patha* (path of circumambulation) which is not noticed in the earlier Gupta temples at Sāñchi, Ēran and Tigowā. Its *garbhagriha* is nearly square in plan, measuring 15 ft 9 in by 15 ft. It is surrounded on all sides by a roofed verandah, 5 ft in width, closed by a wall, three ft thick, which serves as a path for circumambulation. The front wall has an entrance opposite the door of the *garbhagriha*. In front of the entrance there is an open unroofed court, nearly 12 ft in length and breadth, which is approached by a flight of steps.²

The doorway of the *garbhagriha* is very richly decorated. The door-frame has two bands.³ The inner one has at the bottom a haloed male door-keeper (*pratīhāra*). Above this there is a beautiful scroll of a creeper issuing from the navel of a squatting male figure. The outer band has at the bottom the figure of the river goddess Gangā on the left and the Yamunā on the right,⁴ above which there are small decorative panels of *mūṭhas*. The pillars outside this door-frame are decorated with horizontal bands of various designs, while the lintel over them has three beautiful chaitya-windows. At the end of the lintel on either side there is a large figure of a goddess standing over a lotus and attended by a female. 'The figures of this temple', says Cunningham, 'are much superior to all mediaeval sculpture, both in the ease and gracefulness of their attitudes as well as in the real beauty of form'.⁵

The upper chamber is quite plain, both inside and outside. It is lighted by means of two chaitya-windows, one in each side wall. The *garbhagriha* receives its light through two windows of simple square holes fixed in its side walls just opposite the chaitya-windows in the outer walls of the *pradakṣhīnā-patha*. The outer faces of the walls are carved to imitate rock-work, lions, bears, peacocks, monkeys, deer, *yakṣas*, *gaṇas*, etc. being sculptured here and there in small niches to give them the appearance of caves.

The external appearance of the temple at Nachnā shows that its form was imitated from a rock-cut cave. In fact the earliest existing shrines in India are in the form of rock-cut *vihāras* and *chaityas*. The artists of ancient Vīdarbha excelled in this art also. Some of the most magnificent caves at Ajantā hewn out of solid rock, which still exist in a fair condition, testify to the skill of the artisans of that age. The Vihāra caves XVI and XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX—all of which belong to the Vākātaka age—are, according to Burgess, both from their architecture and their paintings, as full of beauty and interest as any caves in the West of India.⁶

Of these three caves, Cave XVI was excavated by Varāhadēva, who was a minister

¹ *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh* (M.A.S.I., No. 70), p. 8.

² See the plan of the temple. *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, pl. XXV.

³ See Pl. XVI in *P.R.A.S.I.*, W.C. for 1918-19. See also Plate H.

⁴ These river goddesses appear just below the prolonged lintel of the temple at Tigowā.

⁵ *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 96.

⁶ *C.T.I.*, p. 302.

of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna. It is in some respects the most elegant of all caves. Its verandah, 65 ft long by 10 ft 8 in wide, has six plain octagonal pillars and two beautifully carved pilasters¹. The hall inside is entered by three doors, of which the middle one is larger than the two side ones. There is also a window on each side, between the middle and the side door. The pilaster on either side of the main door has the figure of the river goddess Gangā standing on a crocodile.

The *mandapa* or hall inside is 66 ft 3 in. long, by 65 ft 3 in deep and 15 ft 3 in high. It is supported by twenty pillars, sixteen of which are of plain octagonal shape, while the remaining four—two in the middle of each of the front and back rows—have square bases and change first to 8 and then to 16 sides, with square heads and bracket capitals. The front aisle is somewhat longer than the back one. Its roof is cut in imitation of beams and rafters, supported by brackets in the form of *kinnaras* and *apsarases*. There are six cells on each side, two in the back wall, and one at each end of the verandah. There is no antechamber, the *chaitya-mandira* (shrine) being entered from three doors in the back aisle. The latter contains a gigantic statue of the Buddha in the *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*, sitting in the *pralambapāda* posture on a lion seat. He is attended by Vajrapāṇi on the right and Padmapāṇi on the left, with *chauris* in their hands. There is space for *pradakṣhṇā* round the image of the Buddha.

The inscription at the left end of the verandah describes this cave in the following words:—² ‘This dwelling which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries, ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs, and has a temple of the Buddha inside’³. The picture-galleries referred to as *su-vīthi* in this verse covered the walls of the verandah and the hall inside, but many of them have now been very sadly mutilated.

Both Cave XVI and XVII were excavated and decorated with paintings in the same period, *viz*, the reign of the Vākātaka king Harishēna. The artists appear to have done the work with a definite plan. The paintings in Cave XVI mostly describe the incidents in the last life of the Buddha, while those in Cave XVII generally illustrate the events of his past lives. There are indeed a few *Jātaka* scenes depicted in Cave XVI, but they are confined to the walls of its verandah and the front corridor. For instance, the story of the *Sutasōma Jātaka*, in which Sutasōma, by his spiritual power, compels the cannibal king Saudāsa to give up his evil habit, is painted on the architrave above the front pillars of the verandah. Similarly, the stories of the *Hastī Jātaka*, in which an elephant sacrifices himself in order to save the lives of hungry travellers, and the *Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka*, in which the child Mahōsadha solves difficult riddles, are painted on the walls of the front corridor.

The incidents in the life of Gautama Buddha can be divided into two parts, *viz*, (1) those that happened before he turned the Wheel of the Law, *i e*, preached his doctrine in the Deer Park at Sārnāth and (11) those that occurred subsequent to that event. As stated before, the *chaitya-mandira* or *garbhagṛha* of Cave XVI has an image of the Buddha in the *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*. It therefore furnishes the dividing point of the paintings in this cave. Those on the wall of the right corridor are chronologically arranged, commencing from the scene of Conception⁴. In the painting above the first and second cell-doors

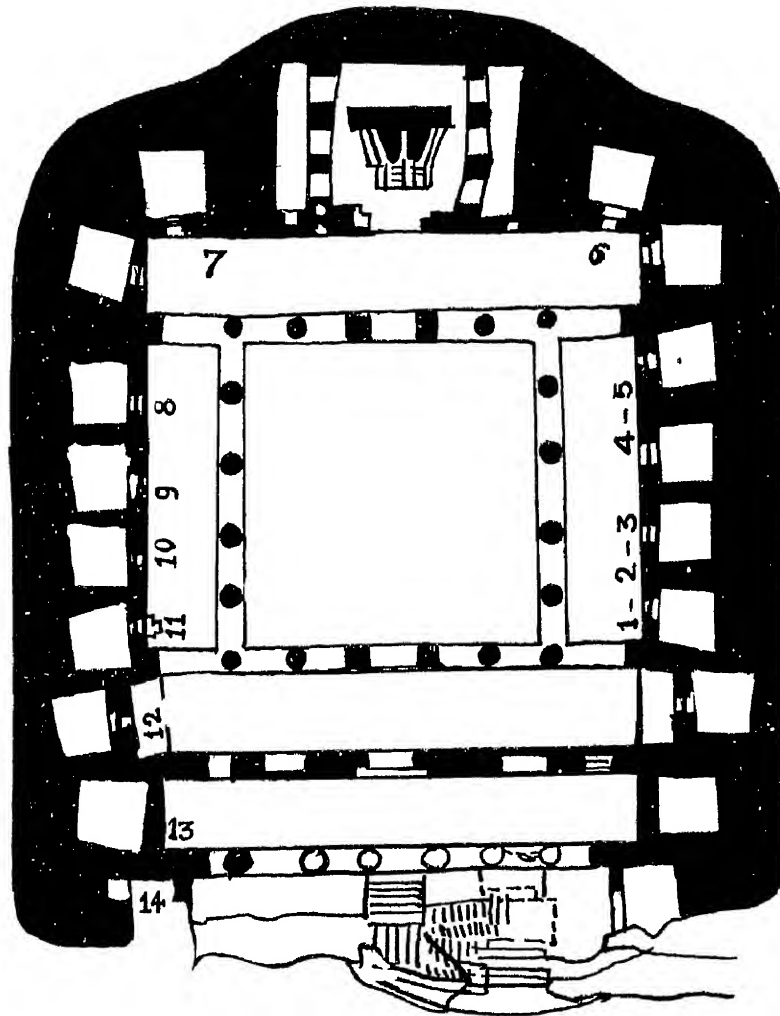
¹See Plate I

²No. 25, v. 24

³*Ajanta*, Part III, pp. 44 f

⁴The chronological sequence of the paintings becomes quite evident if we commence at the right end of the right corridor and walk round the hall from right to left. It also helps in the interpretation of some of the frescoes. In his excellent work *Ajanta* Mr Yazdani has, however, followed the opposite order in describing the paintings of this cave. It is, of course, the usual order of *pradakṣhṇā*.

THE PLAN OF CAVE XVI AT AJANTA



Index of Paintings in Cave XVI at Ajanta
(The Numbers are as in the Plan of the Cave)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1 The Dream of Queen Māyā | 8 Flying Apsarases the Buddha in the teaching attitude |
| 2 The Visit of the Sage Asita | 9 The Mānushī Buddhas |
| 3 Siddhārtha at School and his Practice of Archery | 10 The Buddha's Visit to Kapilavastu Nanda's Coronation His Conversion |
| 4 Scenes from the Life of the Buddha the Four Signs | 11 Dying Sundarī |
| 5 The Offering of Tapusha and Bhallika the Offering of Sujātā | 12 The Mahā-Ummagga Jātaka |
| 6 The Buddha preaching to the Congregation | 13 The Hasti Jātaka |
| 7 The Visit of Ajātasatru to the Buddha | 14 The Buddha preaching in Tushita Heaven |

from the right, queen Māyā is shown sleeping on a bed. As the fresco is very much damaged, we notice only one of her feet resting on a round pillow. Two maids are sleeping near her feet. This is evidently the scene in which Māyā saw in a dream a celestial white elephant enter her womb. The roof of the chamber in which she is sleeping is supported on high wooden pillars decorated with horizontal bands at the bottom, in the middle and at the top. The roof is further ornamented with chaitya windows with lotus designs in the centre. To the left of this chamber there is a low gate with a barrel-shaped roof which leads to a circular pavilion where we notice Māyā relating her dream to king Śuddhōdana. Some of her maids are sitting on the ground, eagerly listening to the account. The figure of the maid who is standing nearby is specially graceful.¹

In the painting on the left we notice the sage Asita holding the infant Siddhārtha in his arms and predicting his future career. To the left of this there is another scene in which we find Siddhārtha taking lessons from his *guru*, with his companions sitting round him. He wears a long coat and a conical cap with a ribbon tied round it. In the scene below we find the prince practising archery. His companions are sitting on low stools, watching his skill.²

On the wall between the third and fourth cell doors are painted later events in the life of young Siddhārtha, such as his first meditation during the Ploughing Festival and his seeing the four signs of old age, disease, death and renunciation.³

On the wall above the third and fourth cell-doors we notice some events which happened soon after Siddhārtha attained enlightenment, i.e. became the Buddha. Two merchants named Trapusha and Bhalika, who saw the Buddha after his trance, made offerings of honey and rice-cakes to him. On the left of this scene we notice the noble lady Sujātā cooking milk-rice for the Buddha and later offering it to him and to four other hermits who were with him.⁴

As the *garbhagriha* has the image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude, the paintings on the walls of the back corridor to the right and left of the doorway appropriately portray the scenes of the Buddha preaching to congregations. The frescoes here are very much damaged, but from what remains of them we can conjecture the occasions. On the left wall the Buddha is shown sitting on a lion seat, with his feet resting on a full-blown large lotus, the stalk of which is held by two Nāga kings who are marked out by the hoods on their heads. He is attended by a Bōdhisattva on either side. Among the congregation are seen on the left several young ladies and a prince sitting in a reverential attitude. He is probably Ajātaśatru, the king Magadha.⁵ On the right are noticed some hermits with shaven heads as well as some men and women. On the wall to the right of the doorway there was probably the scene of the Buddha preaching to the gods in the Tushita heaven.

We shall next proceed to describe the paintings on the wall of the left corridor. The frescoes on the right side of the fourth cell door are very much damaged, but the figure of a flying *apsaras* to the right of the Buddha is still in a fairly good condition. She is dressed only in a striped loin cloth (*aṇḍhōruka*). She wears a *lalāṭikā* with a pendant hanging over her forehead. Her curly hair, dangling *kuṇḍalas*, *ēkāvalī* of large pearls, armlets and bracelets are drawn with skill. Her pose shows movement in the air. She is looking

¹ *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LXII.

² *Ibid.*, Part III, pl. LXIII.

³ *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LXIII.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Part III, pl. LIX.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Part III, pl. LVII.

eagerly towards the Buddha. Her inward feeling is suggested by the gestures of her hands ¹

The original painting above the third cell door was probably damaged in course of time and was replaced by another containing figures of the Mānushī Buddhas in two rows. The lower row has four Buddhas sitting on round seats with cushions behind their back and triple umbrellas over their heads. The upper row has seven or eight Buddhas of the same type. All of them are in the teaching attitude. The figures appear conventional and may have been drawn by the monks *Bhadanta* Dharmadatta and *Bhadanta* Bappuka whose names are mentioned in the painted records below ²

The frescoes over the first and second cell-doors of the left corridor as well as those on the left wall of the front corridor narrated the story of the conversion of Nanda, the half-brother of the Buddha. The paintings here are very much damaged, but some of the scenes can still be recognised. After his enlightenment the Buddha visited Kapilavastu. Nanda was then about to be consecrated as heir apparent. When the Buddha came to the royal palace he was greeted by his wife Yaśōdharā and son Rāhula. The Buddha then met Nanda and handed him his begging bowl. Nanda followed him and consented to join the order. His head was therefore shaved and he was ordained. But he began to pine for his beautiful wife Sundarī. So the Buddha took him to heaven and showed him celestial nymphs. They were so superior to his wife that he consented to continue in the order for obtaining one of them. The story is narrated in the Buddhist canon as well as in the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghōsha.

Some of the incidents in this story such as the visit of the Buddha to Kapilavastu, the consecration of Nanda, his conversion and subsequent pining for his beautiful wife are illustrated in the extant frescoes. But the painting which has evoked unstinted praise from art-critics is that of the last incident in this story. When Nanda decided to continue in the monastic order, his crown was brought to his wife Sundarī. At its sight the latter sank with grief. This scene which has long been known as that of 'the dying princess' is painted in the fresco in the left corridor between the pilaster and the first cell-door ³. Sundarī is sitting on a low seat, her back resting on a round cushion. Her drooping head, half-closed eyes and languid limbs indicate the great shock she has received at the sight of the crown brought before her. A maid is supporting her from behind lest she might fall down, while the lady who is sitting beside her is looking into her face with a sorrowful gaze, and is holding her wrist as if to feel her pulse. Another maid with a *pankhā* who is standing nearby has shown her grief by the contortion of her body as she looks askance at her sinking mistress. Behind the pavilion, two other maids are anxiously discussing the condition of the lady. The peacock on the top of the pavilion appears also to feel the grief and to share in the anxiety of the maids. It has lengthened its neck as if to listen to what the maids outside the pavilion are saying about the condition of its mistress. Mr Griffith has paid a well-deserved tribute to this fresco. Says he, 'For pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of art. The Florentines could have put better drawing, and the Venetians better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it' ⁴.

A flight of steps leads down from the front of Cave XVI and turns to the left into a

¹ *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LV(c)

² *Ibid*, Part III, pp. 55 f., 94 f.

³ *Ajanta* Part III, pl. LII. The credit of identifying 'the dying princess' with Nanda's wife belongs to Mr G. Yazadani. The order of the fresco shows that the identification is probably correct.

⁴ *CTI*, p. 307. See Plate J.

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PLATE J



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small excavation, on the back wall of which is carved the figure of a Nāga-rāja, seated on the coils of a serpent, whose hoods spread over his high flat-topped *mukuta*. This is probably the dwelling of the Lord of the Nāgas (*Nāgēndra-vēśma*), to which a reference is made in the inscription in Cave XVI¹. As the artisans and painters who excavated and painted the caves at Ajantā belonged to the Nāga race, such images of the Nāga-rāja are found sculptured in the caves there.

As stated before, two other caves at Ajantā, *viz*, the Vihāra Cave XVII and the Chaitya Cave XIX belong to the Vākātaka age. They were excavated by a ruler of Rīshika (modern Khāndēsh) who owed allegiance to the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna. His name is unfortunately lost, as his inscription² in Cave XVII is now very badly mutilated. From the extant portion of it we learn, however, that by the premature death of his younger brother Ravisāmba, this prince became convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence and so he got these caves excavated and dedicated them to the Buddhist Sangha at Ajantā.

Cave XVII, which is of the Vihāra type, generally resembles Cave XVI described before. Its verandah in front measures 64 ft. in length and 10 ft. in breadth and is supported by six plain octagonal pillars with a pilaster at each end, which is exquisitely carved³. The hall is entered by a large central door and also by a smaller one at the left end. There is a window on the left between the large and the small door and two more on the right, one large and the other small. The *mandapa* or Hall inside is 64 ft. wide by 62 ft. deep and 13 ft. high. Its roof is supported by twenty pillars, of which sixteen are octagonal and plain, while the remaining four—two middle ones in each of the front and back rows—have square bases with shafts changing into octagonal and sixteen-sided, which are decorated with exquisite carving and painting. Behind the *mandapa* there is an antechamber (*antarāla*), 17 ft. 9 in. in width and 8 ft. 5 in. in depth, leading into the *chaitya-mandira* (shrine), which measures 17 ft. 9 in. in width and 19 ft. 6 in. in depth. The door-frame of the shrine is decorated with three bands, of which the inner and the outer have beautiful scroll work, while the middle one has alternating figures of seated and standing Buddhas. On either side of the lintel there is a figure of the river goddess Gangā standing on a crocodile. Inside the shrine there is a large image of the Buddha sitting cross-legged in the *Yōgāsana* posture, with his hands in the *Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*. He has a halo round his face and his hair is arranged in schematic curls. The lobes of his ears are extended. He wears an *antarāvāsaka* or lower garment and a *sankakshikā* which goes over the left and under the right arm. At the back of the throne there is a crocodile at the top on either side, from the mouth of which a man is trying to leap out. On the front face of the throne are carved two crouching deer with a wheel between them, symbolising the deer-park at Sārnāth, where the Buddha first turned the Wheel of the Law. On the proper right side of the Buddha stands Padmapānī and on the left Vajrapānī, both carrying a *chauri* or fly-whisk. There are two more attendants near the throne; that on the right carries the Buddha's begging bowl, while that on the left has something in his hand which is not quite clear. Above, two flying *vidyādharas* are seen—one on each side—carrying offerings to the Buddha⁴.

This cave has, in all, eighteen cells—one at each end of the verandah, six in each of

¹No. 25, v. 25

²No. 27

³See Plate K.

⁴*Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. III, (b).

the walls of the right and left corridor, and two on each side of the back door of the hall. It is also provided with a fine cistern of water which is approached by a flight of steps between this cave and Cave XVI. It is specifically mentioned in the inscription¹ at the left end of the verandah

As stated before, this cave was excavated by a prince who was overwhelmed with sorrow at the premature death of his younger brother. It is stated in the afore-mentioned inscription that he used to wait upon persons who possessed great learning, liberality, compassion, contentment, friendship, forgiveness, courage and wisdom. It is therefore not surprising that the paintings in the cave excavated by him should illustrate the tales preaching these virtues. We have seen above that the frescoes in Cave XVI mostly describe the incidents in the last life of the Buddha. This cave contains very few paintings of that type, while it abounds with those describing the past lives of the Buddha, in which one or other of the afore-mentioned virtues was exemplified. The paintings may also have been utilised by the monks in illustrating their sermons.

Cave XVII contains now more paintings than any other cave at Ajantā, and most of them are in a fairly good condition. It is not possible to describe them all in detail, but we may indicate their position briefly and point out the salient features of a few of them.

On the back wall of the verandah to the left of the main door there are some paintings which are supposed to illustrate the *Viśvantara Jātaka*, though there are more and detailed pictures of this *Jātaka* inside the Hall. There are indeed some incidents portrayed here which support this identification, viz., the distribution of gifts including costly necklaces to suppliants, the exile of a prince and a princess (*Viśvantara* and *Mādrī*), the flying Indra, who, according to the story, came to *Viśvantara* to ask for the gift of his wife, etc. The picture of flying Indra, *gandharvas* and *apsarases* is specially noteworthy. Indra is fair in complexion and has a noble mien. He wears a high crown and beautiful jewelled necklaces, armlets and bracelets. His *varakakshaka* is thrown backward as he flies through the air. He wears an *ardhōruka* which is fastened round his waist by means of a beautiful jewelled *katibandha* with a dagger and a sword fixed in it. The clouds through which he and his attendants fly are shown by means of white and blue curves and patches. This is one of the most fascinating small paintings at Ajantā and well illustrates the artist's skill in portraying flying figures².

On the back of the verandah, above the two windows to the right of the main door, is painted an incident in the life of the Buddha, in which he calmed a furious elephant named *Nālāgiri* which was let loose against him in *Rājagriha* at the instigation of *Dēvadatta*. The infuriated elephant running through the streets of *Rājagriha*, demolishing wooden structures, lifting up men and animals with its trunk and causing consternation among the people, is vividly portrayed. In the next scene it is seen kneeling down meekly before the Buddha, who blesses it with his hand. The men and women in the shops and galleries of the houses nearby are filled with amazement and reverentially fold their hands³. The whole scene is very realistic and testifies to the imagination and skill of the artist.

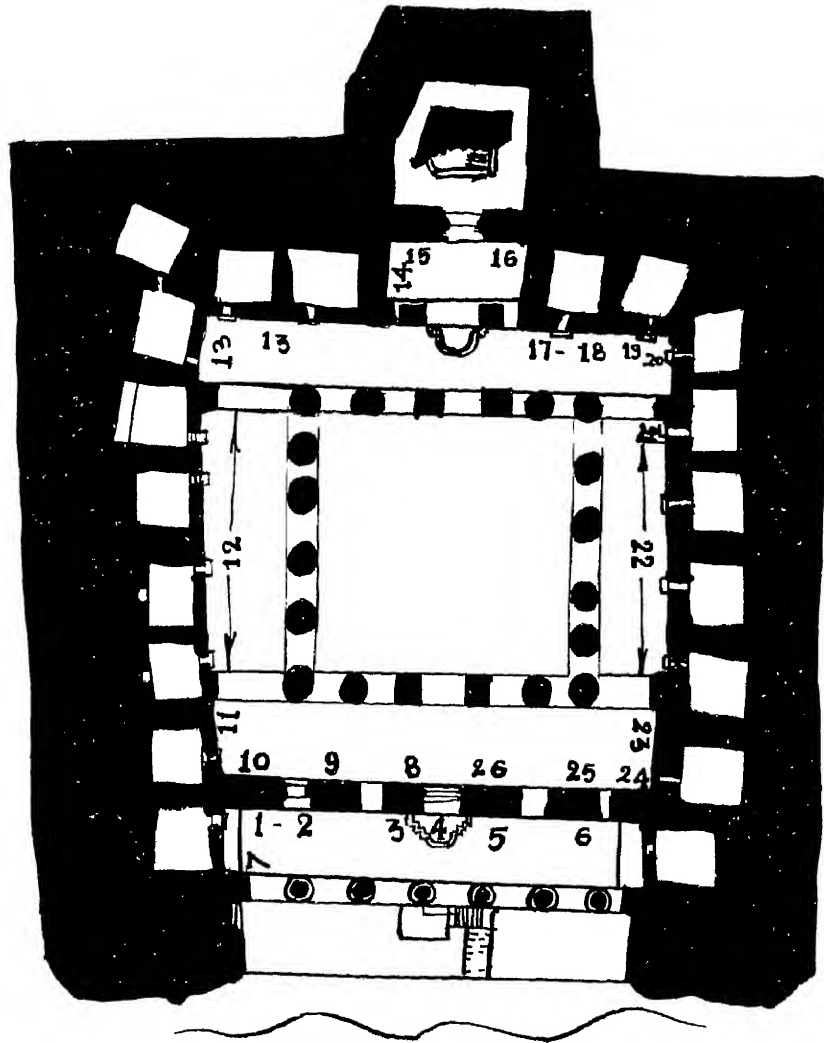
On the left wall of the verandah, above the cell-door, is painted a huge wheel which was supposed to represent the Zodiac and so this cave was called 'the Zodiac Cave'. The correct view, however, is that it is the wheel of *Samsāra* (worldly existence). In

¹ No. 27, v. 26.

² *Ajanta*, Part III, pl. LXVII.

³ *Ibid*, Part III, pl. LXXIV.

THE PLAN OF CAVE XVII AT AJANTĀ



Index of Paintings in Cave XVII at Ajantā
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| 3 | Flying Indra and Apsarases | 16 | The Miracle at Śrāvastī |
| 4 | The Mānushī Buddha | 17 | The Śarabha Jātaka |
| 5 | Gandharvas and Apsarases adoring the Buddha | 18 | The Mātrī-pōshaka Jātaka |
| 6 | The Taming of the Furlous Elephant Nālāgiri | 19 | The Matsya Jātaka |
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| 12 | The Visvantara Jātaka | 25 | The Riksha Jātaka |
| 13 | The Sutasōma Jātaka | 26 | The Nyagrōdha-mrīga Jātaka |
| 14 | The Buddha preaching in the Tushita Heaven | | |

GREEDY JŪJAKA RECEIVING RANSOM MONEY



Buddhist as in Hindu literature, worldly existence is conceived as a gigantic wheel which revolves all creatures through a series of life and death ¹

The present wheel was designed to have eight divisions marked by its spokes (*asht-āra-chakra*), but only five of them can be made out, the remaining three not having been completed owing to the position of the cell-door. The wheel contains various scenes of village and town life. It is shown as revolved by the hands of some being of colossal size, probably representing *Karman*.

As stated before, the stories of the past lives of the Buddha are illustrated in the frescoes on the walls of this *mandapa*. We find, for instance, the stories of the *Shad-danta Jātaka*, the *Mahākapi Jātaka* and the *Hasṭi Jātaka* painted on the outer wall of the front corridor inside the Hall to the right of the main entrance,² the *Hamsa Jātaka* on the left wall of the same corridor³ and the *Viśvantara Jātaka*, the *Mahākapi Jātaka* (II) and the *Sutasōma Jātaka* on the wall of the left corridor⁴. Some scenes of the *Viśvantara Jātaka* were, of course, painted on the back wall of the verandah, but its whole story could not be narrated there probably for want of space. It is, therefore, repeated on the wall of the left corridor from the first to the fourth cell-door. The different incidents of the story such as Viśvantara taking leave of his father and mother before proceeding into exile, the departure of the prince and the princess, the giving away of the little children Jālin and Kṛṣṇnājīnā to the Brāhmana Jūjaka, and finally, their restoration by the latter to the king, their grandfather, in consideration of a large sum of money paid as ransom, are all painted with great skill. The last scene when Jūjaka appears in the royal court to receive the ransom money is specially noteworthy. Mr Yazdani has described it in the following words:—‘The artist has delineated all the ugly features of Jūjaka—the broken teeth, the goatly beard, the parrot-like nose and small, uncanny eyes, combined with the brightness which has come over his face at the jingle of the money which the royal treasurer is pouring into his outspread scarf. The expression of joy may also be perceived from the treatment of his eyes, and the artist has further enhanced it by placing high lights on the nose and lips of the Brāhmana⁵.’ The king holds the last coin in his hand which he is apparently throwing into the Brāhmana’s scarf with a contemptuous look. The artist has shown, with evident humour, the Brāhmana with an open umbrella even when he appears in the royal court.

As shown below, the frescoes on the wall of the right corridor also relate *Jātaka* tales. The only paintings which narrate incidents in the last life of the Buddha inside this cave are noticed on the right and left walls of the *antarāla* (antechamber) and those of the *Chartya-mandira* (sanctum). As stated before, the sanctum contains an image of the Buddha in the teaching attitude. The frescoes outside, therefore, fittingly describe the incidents which happened soon after the Buddha turned the Wheel of the Law.

On the left wall of the *antarāla* we see a painting in which the Buddha is discoursing upon the Law to his mother and the gods and goddesses of the Tushita Heaven. He is next shown to have descended to the world of men by means of a ladder. He then preaches the Law to the kings, queens, noblemen and others who have come to see him. The Buddha is seated on a throne in the *pralambapāda* posture and *dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*, with Padmapānī and Vajrapānī attending upon him. To his right are Bimbisāra, the

¹ *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. IV-VI.

² *Ibid*, Part IV, plates X-XIV.

³ *Ibid*, Part IV, pl. XVII.

⁴ *Ibid*, Part IV, pl. XIX-XXXVII.

⁵ *Ajanta*, Part IV, p. 49. See Plate L.

king of Magadha, his son Ajātaśatru, his queen and some other chiefs with round or conical head-dresses. One of them who has prominent mustaches and a beard and also a conical head-dress may represent a Śaka or Kushāna chief, such as may occasionally have been noticed at the Vākātaka court. To the left of the Buddha are several monks, of whom two who are prominent may be identified with Śāriputra and Maudgalyāyana. The eyes of all are turned towards the Buddha who is expounding the Law. The monk next to Śāriputra may be Ānanda, the chief disciple of the Buddha, who, from the gestures of his hand, seems to be answering the questions put to him by the Buddha¹. The artist has been able to paint this great composition with perfect ease and consummate skill.

On the back wall of the *antarāla* to the left of the shrine door, there is the well-known painting of the Buddha greeted by his wife and son, Yaśōdharā and Rāhula². Having received the intimation that the Buddha has come to Kapilavastu and may visit the palace in the course of the begging round, Yaśōdharā has put on her best garments and ornaments and stands at the door with her son Rāhula, who also is similarly dressed, expecting the arrival of the Buddha. In the present fresco³ the Buddha is shown in a very large size, suggestive of his spiritual greatness. The figures of Yaśōdharā and Rāhula are purposely drawn much smaller in size as compared with him. The Buddha has matted hair on his head and a halo round his face. He is clad in a reddish long gown and carries a green begging bowl in his right hand. His head is slightly inclined towards Yaśōdharā. His face shows philosophic calm, mingled with compassion for Yaśōdharā, whom he finds still attached to worldly life. Yaśōdharā has placed Rāhula in front, suggesting thereby that for his sake, if not for hers, the Buddha should come back to the householder's life. Rāhula has spread both his hands to ask for his heritage as instructed. Both he and Yaśōdharā have fixed their eyes on the Buddha's face, anxiously awaiting to hear what he would say to them. A *vidyādhara* has held an umbrella over the Buddha's head and flowers are being showered over him from the sky. This painting has evoked highest praise for its sublimity, suggestiveness and skilful delineation of human emotion.

On the right wall of the *antarāla* there is a painting of the miracle which the Buddha performed at Śrāvastī at the request of king Bimbisāra⁴. Accepting the challenge of some naked śramanas who wanted to cause a schism in the Sangha, the Buddha assumed numerous forms to confound his opponents. The artist has shown considerable humour in drawing the burly figures of the naked śramanas.

On the rear wall of the back corridor to the right of the *antarāla* are painted the following *Jātakas* in order—the *Śarabha Jātaka*, the *Mātṛpōshaka Jātaka*, the *Matsya Jātaka* and the *Syāma Jātaka*⁵. The story of the last of these is similar to that of Śrāvana in the *Rāmāyana* of Vālmīki⁶. Next, the *Mahisha Jātaka* is painted on the right wall of the back corridor⁷.

On the whole wall of the right corridor is painted the story of the *Simhala Avadāna*⁸. The story is told in the *Dvayāvadāna*, but, as Mr. Yazdani has shown, the frescoes here

¹ *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. XXXVIII-XL.

² *Ibid*, Part IV, pl. XL-XLI.

³ See Plate M.

⁴ *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. XLIII.

⁵ *Ibid*, Part IV, plates XLIV-XLIX.

⁶ *Rāmāyana*, II, 63, vv. 22 f.

⁷ *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl. LI a.

⁸ *Ibid*, Part IV, plates LI b-LXIV a.

THE BUDDHA, YASŌDHARĀ AND RĀHULA



show some deviation from it. Further, on the right wall of the front corridor is painted the story of the *Sibi Jātaka*¹ and on the front wall of the same corridor to the left of the main entrance are painted those of the following *Jātakas*, viz., the *Ruru Jātaka*, the *Riksha Jātaka* and the *Nyagrōdhamṛiga Jātaka*²

Besides, the ceilings of the Hall and the right and left corridors are decorated with painted designs of various kinds. The ceiling of the Hall has, inside a large square, seven concentric circular bands with a circular pattern in the centre. The bands have various decorative designs such as those of jewellery, creepers with leaves and flowers, pearl strings, etc. The space at the corners of the square is filled with flying figures with offerings of flowers. In the decorative designs round the large circle and elsewhere on the ceiling of the Hall the heads of animals such as lions, elephants, horses, buffaloes, deer, etc. as well as some fabulous creatures are ingeniously interwoven in the scrolls of creepers³. As Mr Yazdani has observed, 'the colour-schemes of these subjects also show a highly developed art, since the different colours are most harmoniously blended and are most pleasant to the eye'⁴. In view of the magnificent architecture, sculpture and painting in this cave there is hardly any exaggeration in the description in its inscription that 'the Vihāra cave is such as cannot be even imagined by little-souled persons'⁵. It is undoubtedly 'the finest monument of its kind in India, and perhaps in the whole world'⁶.

Like Cave XVII, Cave XIX at Ajantā was excavated by the ruler of Rūshika who was a feudatory of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishena. It is one of the four Chaitya caves at Ajantā and is referred to as *Gandhakutī* in the inscription in Cave XVII⁷. It is regarded as 'one of the most perfect specimens of the Buddhist art in India'. In front of it was an enclosed court, 33 ft wide by 30 ft deep, but the left side of it has now almost entirely gone. It has an elegant porch in front supported on two pillars which are decorated with horizontal bands of the lotus motif, and have finials of the *āmalaka* type⁸. The lintel over them is decorated with two horizontal bands of chaitya windows, with another of *kīṭmukhas* between them. The whole façade of the cave is covered from top to bottom with figures of the Buddhas in various attitudes, standing or seated, single or in pairs, as also with floral designs and chaitya windows with pairs of lovers (*mithunas*) dallying with each other. In the centre there is a large horse-shoe arch, with horizontal ribs carved in stone, which lights the interior of the *Gandhakutī*. On each side there is a *yaksha*—Pañchika on the left and Pūrṇabhadra on the right. They are dressed in transparent garments and have beautiful

¹ *Ajanta*, Part IV, plates LXVC-LXVII.

² *Ibid*, Part IV, plates LXVIII-LXXX.

³ *Ibid*, Part IV, plates LXXXI-LXXXIV.

⁴ *Ibid*, Part IV, p. 107.

⁵ No 27, v. 25.

⁶ *Ajanta*, Part IV, p. 11.

⁷ This cave lies to the west of Cave XVII and thus answers to the description of the *Gandhakutī* mentioned in the inscription. Mr Yazdani doubts this identification and suggests that the *Gandhakutī* may have been 'an insignificant chapel' which has now disappeared owing to the disintegration of the rock above Cave XVIII. This is, however, in direct opposition to the description in the inscription that the *Gandhakutī* was *udāra* or magnificent. We have no reason to suppose that there was exaggeration in this. As for the argument that this cave appears to be later than Cave I on the evidence of the decorative features of the triforium, we may cite the opinion of Burgess—'From its position and its style of architecture, there can be little doubt that it is of about the same age as the two Vihāras XVI and XVII which are next to it' *CTI*, p. 317.

⁸ See Plate N.

coiffures and jewellery¹ Outside, in a niche at the bottom of the left wall of the court there is a beautiful panel of the Nāgarāja and his wife A serpent has spread its seven hoods over the head of the Nāgarāja Another hood is seen over the head of his wife Both of them wear high jewelled crowns and several ornaments To the proper right of the Nāgarāja there is an attendant with a *chauri*² As stated before, there is a similar panel of the Nāgarāja and his wife in a small excavation near Cave XVI also

Inside, the *Gandhakutī* is 24 ft wide by 46 ft. long and 24 ft 4 in high The earlier caves of this type were perfectly plain, but this is elaborately carved The nave has 15 pillars, 11 ft high They have a square base, above which their shaft becomes first octagonal and then circular, with horizontal bands of beautiful tracery The circular portion is either plain or decorated with perpendicular or spiral flutes Above this is the *āmalaka* portion which is surmounted by a bracket capital with the figure of the seated Buddha in the middle and elephants, *śārdūlas* or flying *gandharvas* on the brackets Above a plain architrave there is an entablature, 5 ft high, which is divided into compartments by vertical bands of various designs³ The compartments contain images of the Buddha, standing or seated The dome rises 8 ft 4 in high

The *Chaitya* contains, inside a niche and under an arch resting on two beautifully carved demi-pillars, a *bas-relievo* figure of the Buddha clad in a long robe Above the dome is the usual *harmikā* with a small image of the seated Buddha surmounted by three umbrellas one over another, each being upheld by four figures on four sides The roof of the aisles is flat and is decorated with flower scrolls, figures of the Buddha, etc The walls also have paintings of the Buddhas with halos, seated or standing

This is the first instance of a *chaitya* cave wholly in stone In earlier caves like that at Karle the ribs of the nave and the umbrellas over the *chaitya* were in wood. Here they are all in stone 'Nothing in or about it is or ever was in wood, and many parts are so lithic in design that if we did not know to the contrary, we might not be able to detect at once the originals from which they were derived The transformation from wood to stone is complete in this cave⁴

Some more caves of the Vākātaka age exist near the village Gulwādā, about 11 miles west of Ajantā They are known as the Ghatōtkacha caves and were excavated, like Cave XVI at Ajantā, by Varāhadēva, a minister of the Vākātaka king Harishēna They are situated in a deep gorge

There were apparently three caves excavated here, of which only two are now extant, the third being known only from some traces left behind Both the caves that are still standing were of the *vihāra* type, but the pillars and pilasters of the smaller one are now almost entirely destroyed, only the bracket of a pillar and a pilaster still remaining The bracket has the curious representation of four deer with common head It will be remembered that the capitals of the pillars of the temple at Tigōwā had at the corners the representations of two lions with a common head

The larger cave, however, is in a fairly good state of preservation, though in its case also, the front pillars of the verandah are completely destroyed There is a mutilated inscription⁵ on the back wall of the verandah at the north end, from which we learn that it was

¹ *Ajanta*, Part IV, pl LXXV (a)

² *Ibid*, Part IV, pl LXXVI (b)

³ *Ibid*, Part IV, pl LXXV (b).

⁴ *C.T.I.*, p. 317

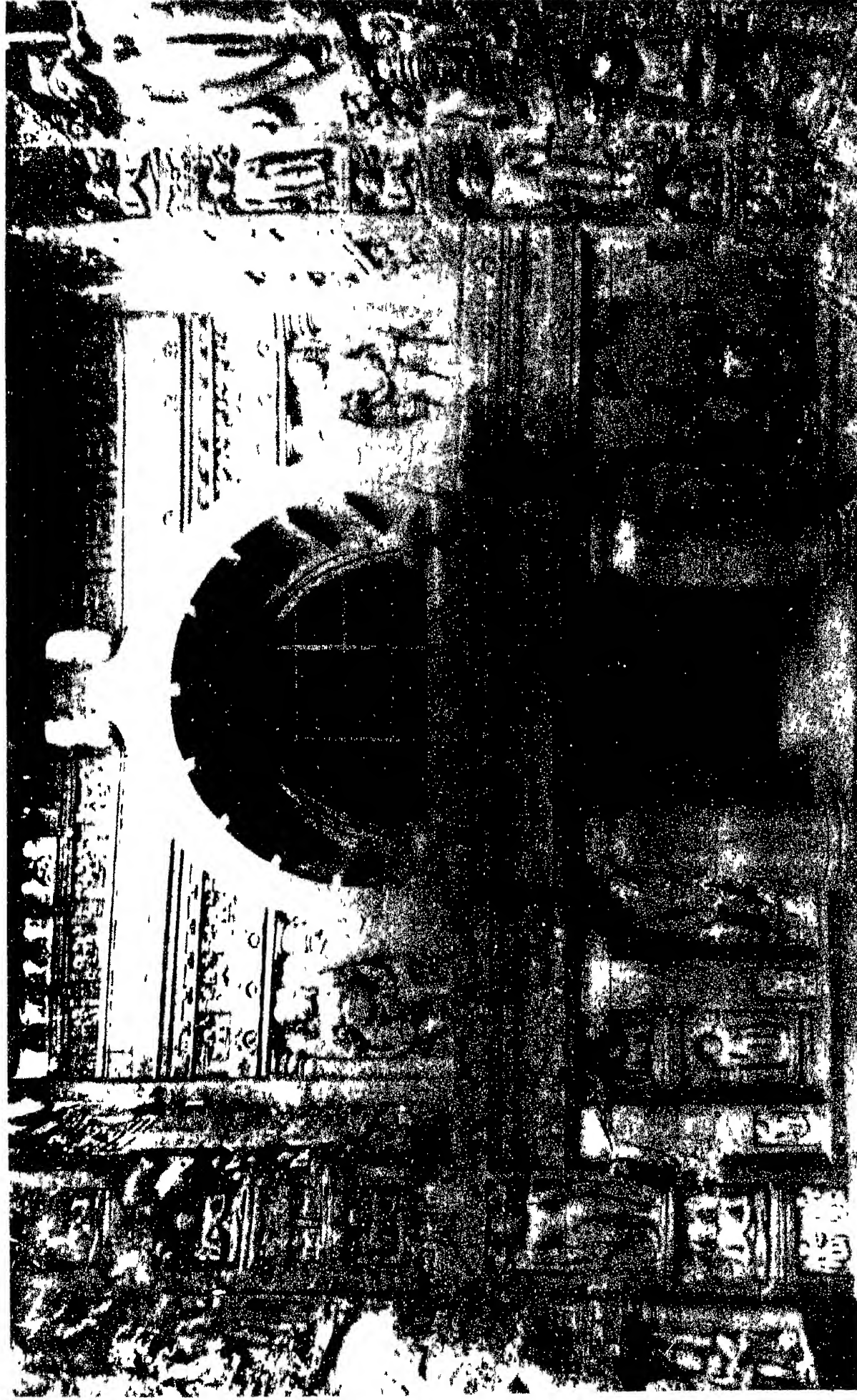
⁵ No. 26

CORPUS INSCRIPTIONUM INDICARUM

THE FRONT VIEW OF CAVE XIX AT AJANTĀ

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PLATE N

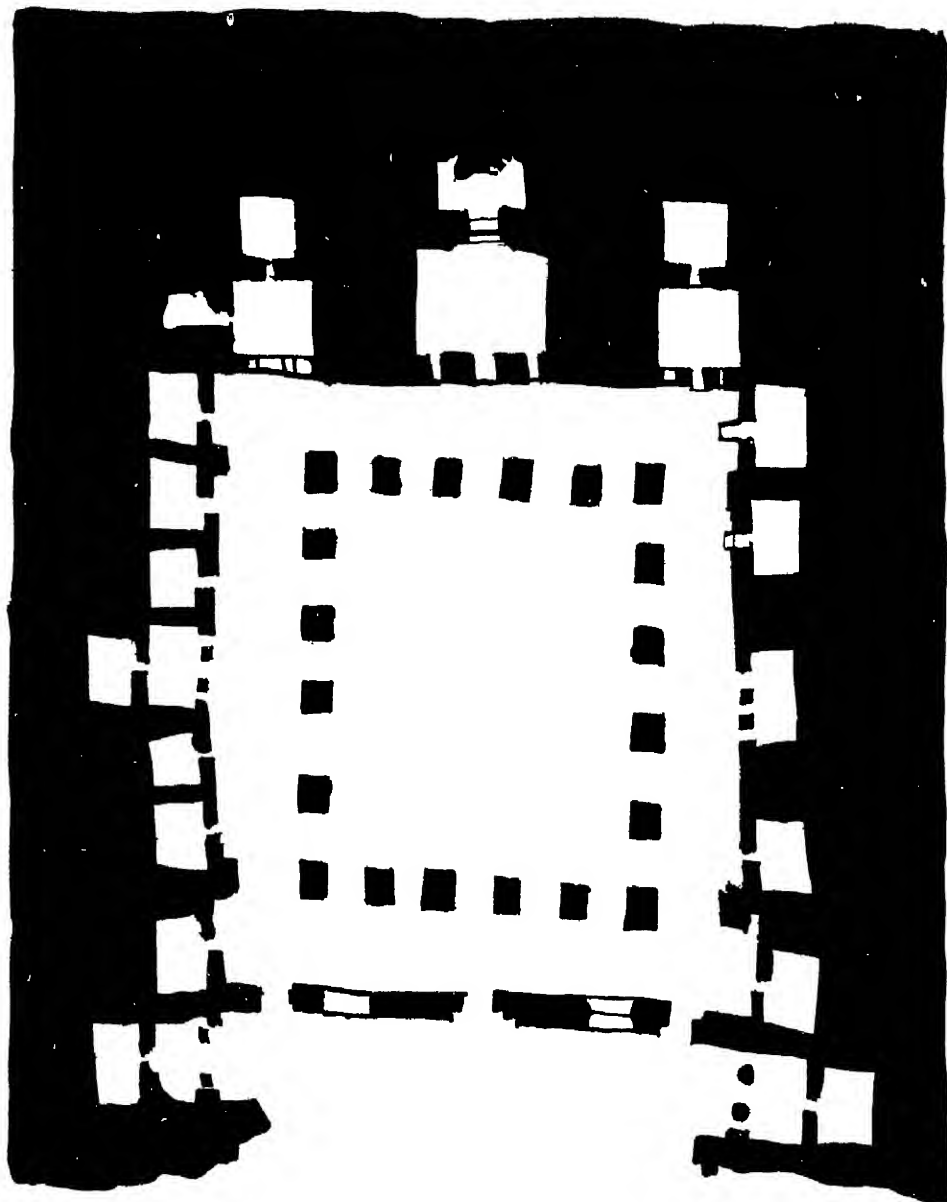


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PLATE O

THE PLAN OF THE GHATÔTKACHA CAVE



excavated by Varāhadēva, a minister of Harishēna. It gives his pedigree from the beginning, but as its lower part is sadly mutilated, all information about the purpose for which it was excavated and the Buddhist Sangha to which it was dedicated is now lost. Another inscription carved over the figure of the Buddha on one of the pillars of the cave contains the well-known Buddhist creed, *Yē dharmmā hētu-prabhavāh*, etc.

The larger cave generally resembles Cave XVI at Ajantā, though there are some minor differences in its plan¹. At either end of the verandah there is a chapel, with two pillars between pilasters in front and a small cell at the back. The hall is entered by three doors, the central one being larger than the two side ones. Between the central and the side door there is a window on either side. The central door is decorated with two bands of scroll work and a third one containing seated and standing Buddhas, *mithunas* etc². At either end of the lintel there is a goddess standing on a boar, not a crocodile as in the caves at Ajantā, the change being introduced here probably with reference to the name Varāhadēva of the minister who got the caves excavated³. The side doors and windows are decorated with *chaitya-vātāyanas* containing figures of the seated Buddha, with globular forms on the finials⁴.

The hall inside is supported on twenty pillars, disposed in four rows. The two middle pillars and those at the corners have square bases changing into octagon, sixteen-sided and thirty-two-fluted and then returning through the sixteen and eight-sided forms to the square under plain bracket capitals⁵. The remaining pillars have octagonal shafts and square heads with brackets. There are pilasters in the side walls in line with the front and back rows of pillars, those behind being decorated with full or half medallions⁶. The front pilaster in the left side wall has a figure of the seated Buddha with an attendant on either side and the aforementioned Buddhist creed carved above.

In the middle of the back wall of the hall there is an *antarāla* (antechamber) with two pillars in front, and the *chaitya-mandira* (sanctum) behind. On each side of it in the back wall and also in the middle of the left wall of the hall there is a chapel with two pillars in front and a cell behind, like that at each end of the verandah mentioned before. There are six other cells in the left wall and five on the right⁷. In the *chaitya-mandira* behind the *antarāla* there is a large image of the Buddha, seated in the *yōgāsana* posture and the *Dharmachakra-pravartana-mudrā*, with a Bōdhisattva carrying a *chaurni* on either side. The Bōdhisattva on his proper left is Vajrapāni as he has the *vajra* in his left hand, that on the right should be Padmapāni as in the caves at Ajantā, but his sign, *viz*, the lotus has not been carved. On the pedestal of the Buddha's lion-seat there are the usual figures of the crouching deer with a wheel between them, symbolising the Buddha's first sermon in the Deer Park at Sārnāth. Some devotees are also seen kneeling on either side of the wheel. The Buddha has a large round halo round his face, beyond which are seen some flying *vidyādharas* and *vidyādhariṣ* with garlands for the worship of the Buddha⁸.

¹ See Plate O.

² *G C I*, pl. 4.

³ No. 26, v. 18.

⁴ *G C I*, pl. 5.

⁵ *G C I*, pl. 8.

⁶ *Ibid*, pl. 9.

⁷ The middle one on the right has the appearance of a chapel with two doors in front, but there is no cell behind it as in the case of the other chapels in this cave.

⁸ *G C I*, pl. 3.

At the right end of the front aisle of the Hall there is carved a *chaitya* in half relief and on the other two walls appear a number of seated and standing Buddhas. According to Burgess, these were carved at some later date.

The present cave differs in certain respects from Cave XVI at Ajanṭā. It is supposed by some to be anterior to the latter on the basis of the general architectural style and the sculpture in it¹, but the inscription of Varāhadēva incised therein leaves no doubt that it is of the same age as the aforementioned caves at Ajanṭā. Any differences that may be noticed in the architecture and sculpture of the two caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age.

TEXTS AND TRANSLATIONS

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MAIN BRANCH

NO 1 PLATE I

DĒOTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASĒNA I

DĒOTEK is now a small village, about 50 miles south-east of Nāgpur. It has an old temple in a dilapidated condition and a large inscribed **slab**. The place was visited by Cunningham's assistant, Beglar, in the year 1873-74. He has described the temple and the inscribed slab in Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. VII, pp. 123-25. From the pencil impressions Beglar took at the time, Cunningham published an eye-copy of the two inscriptions on the slab and his transcript of their texts, without any translation or interpretation, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I (First Edition), pp. 28-29. Though the inscriptions are very important, none noticed them until I drew attention to them at the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference held in December 1935. They have been edited with facsimiles by me in the *Proceedings and Transactions*¹ of the Conference.

I visited Dēotek in October 1935 and took estampages which showed some better readings than Cunningham's eye-copy. On the other hand, some letters which Cunningham read in the last line of the earlier record have since then disappeared, evidently owing to the peeling off of the surface of the slab, which had for a long time been used as a seat by village boys and cowherds while tending cattle. As described by Beglar², 'the inscribed slab is an oblong trapezoid of rough-grained, quartzite sandstone, worn smooth in places by the feet of villagers, it being situated in the thick shade of a magnificent tamarind tree, on the side of the village road, and thus offering a capital resting place and seat, the stone is nine feet long, three and a half feet broad at one end, and two feet ten inches at the other, with straight sides, it bears two distinct inscriptions'. The stone has since been removed to the Central Museum, Nāgpur.

The **earlier of the two inscriptions** is inscribed lengthwise and is in four lines. It occupies 1' 10" of the breadth of the stone, leaving the lower portion of about 1' 6" uninscribed. The characters are of the early Brāhmī alphabet, resembling, in many cases, those of the Gīrnār edicts of Aśōka. The language is early Prakrit as in the Gīrnār edicts. At least the first three lines of this inscription seem to have originally extended to the right-hand edge of the slab, for, traces of isolated letters in the first line, which are in no way connected with the second inscription, can still be marked on the original stone. Besides, the sense of the first two lines, which are fairly legible, appears to be incomplete in the absence of their right-hand half³. It would again be strange if the engraver, selecting a large slab nine feet long and commencing to incise it lengthwise, had ended his lines about the middle of it, leaving out nearly a half at the right end. For these reasons I cannot accept Beglar's view that 'the second inscription was cut evidently with some regard for the prior inscription,

¹ *P.T.A.I.O.C.*, 1935, pp. 63 f.

² *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, p. 124.

³ One would, for instance, expect at the end of line 1 the names of animals and the seasons in which their capture and slaughter were prohibited. Cf. Aśōka's pillar edict V.

as it does not interfere with or injure it'¹ On the other hand, the later inscription seems to have been incised after the earlier one was chiselled off to make room for it

The **object of the earlier inscription** was to record the command of some lord (*Sā* (who is called 'king' in line 4), prohibiting the capture and slaughter (evidently of some animals in certain seasons as in Aśoka's fifth pillar edict, or, maybe, throughout the year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared to disobey it The third line mentions executive officers (*āmachā*—*amātyāh*) whose duty may have been to enforce these orders The last line contains **the date 14**, denoting probably the regnal year in which the record was incised

This edict seems to have been issued by a **Dharmamahāmātra** in the fourteenth year after the coronation of Aśoka. From the fifth rock edict of the great Buddhist Emperor we learn that these *Mahāmātras* were first appointed by Aśoka in the thirteenth year after his coronation, i.e., a year prior to the date of this record One of the duties assigned to them was to prevent the capture and slaughter of animals It is not unlikely that the *Dharmamahāmātra* who was in charge of ancient Vidarbha caused the present record to be incised at Chikkamburi mentioned in line 1, which seems to have been then a place of great importance, to proclaim the command of the great Emperor to his subjects living in the neighbourhood²

The **second inscription** which concerns us here is in five lines³, which are inscribed breadthwise, commencing from the narrow end of the slab Like the earlier inscription it also has suffered considerable damage Some letters in the first four lines have either altogether disappeared or become illegible, owing to the wearing away and peeling off of the surface of the slab Besides, a channel 4" in breadth has been cut right through the middle of the inscription, which has evidently resulted in the further loss of some more letters⁴

Like the Ēran inscription of Samudragupta, the present record is inscribed in the **box-headed variety** of the **southern alphabet** of about the fourth century A.C. As regards individual letters, we may note the triangular *v* in *-vamśa* line 4, the tripartite *y* in line 5 and the unlooped *n* in line 5 The size of the letters varies from 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ " to 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole inscription is in prose

The **object** of this inscription is to record the construction of a temple or place for religious worship (*dharma-sthāna*)⁵ by king **Rudrasēna** at **Chikkamburi**. It may be noted in this connection that there is at present a small plain structure of laterite in a dilapidated condition just where the inscribed slab was noticed 'The temple is small, consisting simply of a cell and its entrance, it may have had a small portico or a *mandapa* attached as the ground in front is covered with cut blocks, but it could not have been large and indeed the temple is of the kind usually built without a *mandapa*'⁶ The existing structure

¹ C.A.S.R., Vol. VII, p. 124

² In some of his edicts Aśoka orders his officers to get his edicts engraved on stone pillars, rocks and stone slabs throughout the districts in their charge See his Rūpnāth rock inscription, line 5, and Sāmānāth pillar inscription, lines 9-10

³ There are faint traces of two letters (*Siddham*?) in a much smaller size in line 6

⁴ The channel could not have existed at the time the inscription was incised, for, in one case at least (*viz.*, in *vamśa tasya*) we are sure that it has caused the loss of one letter *viz.*, *jā* Beglar has remarked, "Long afterwards, when no one could read the inscriptions, this great slab, large enough to occupy the breadth of the sanctum of a temple, was considered to form into an *argha* and in the process the inscriptions were remorselessly sacrificed". C.A.S.R., Vol. VII, pp. 124-25

⁵ The chief temple in the capital was called *Varjayika-dharma-sthāna*

⁶ C.A.S.R., Vol. VII, p. 124.

is quite plain. The only decoration it seems to have had was in the form of a scroll on its door frame, two fragments of which are lying in front of it. The door seems to have been 4' 4" in breadth and about 4' in height. The lintel has, in a recess in the middle, a small image of two-armed Ganapati, measuring 6" in breadth and 8½" in height. 'The roof of the sanctum is formed of intersecting squares and has a pyramidal shape cut up exteriorly into gradually diminishing steps. Temples of this type can be seen in the adjoining villages of Pānōri and Ārmōri¹. There is a large image of Ganapati placed in the cell, but it seems to be of a later age. The temple was originally dedicated to Śiva. The *linga* has now disappeared, but from the socket in an old *argha* lying nearby, it seems to have been a large one, about 13" in diameter. Such *lingas* are found round about Mansar near Rāmtēk, which was undoubtedly an ancient holy place dating back at least to the time of the Vākātakas. There is a broken image of Nandī lying in front of the present temple. Though the present structure cannot date back to the fourth century A.C., to which period the inscription can be referred, it undoubtedly marks an ancient site and may have been erected when the original temple fell into ruins.

The inscription is not dated. The name of the king's family which occurred in the beginning of the fourth line has, unfortunately, been lost, but on the evidence of palaeography Cunningham conjecturally assigned the record to Rudrasēna I, though according to the notions then prevalent, he called him a king of Kailakila Yavanas, and placed him in 170 A.C.² Though this date cannot now be accepted, Cunningham's attribution of the present record to the **Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I** seems to be correct. There were two kings of this name in the dynasty of the Vākātakas, *viz.*, Rudrasēna I, who was the grandson and successor of Pravarasēna I, and Rudrasēna II, the grandson of the former and son-in-law of Chandragupta II—Vikramāditya. Of these, the former was a Śaiva, being a fervent devotee of Svāmī-Mahābhairava,³ while the latter, probably owing to the influence of his wife Prabhavatīguptā, was a worshipper of Chakrapānī (Vishnu)⁴. As the present inscription evidently records the building of a Śiva temple, it may be ascribed to Rudrasēna I. This is also confirmed by the palaeographic evidence detailed above⁵.

The importance of the present inscription lies in this that it is the **earliest record of the Vākātakas** discovered so far, and is, besides, the only lithic record of that royal family. Its situation shows that Rudrasēna I ruled south of the Narmadā and renders doubtful the identification of Rudradēva, who is mentioned in the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription as one of the kings of Āryāvarta, with Rudrasēna I of the Vākātaka dynasty.

There remains now the question—Why was the inscription inscribed breadthwise and commenced at the narrow end of the slab? As is well-known, there was a revival of Hinduism and Sanskrit learning in the age of the Vākātakas. They themselves performed animal sacrifices, and could have therefore had no regard for Aśoka's precepts of *ahimsā*. When therefore Rudrasēna I built a temple of his favourite deity and wanted to put up an inscription of his own to record it, he could have felt no scruples in chiselling off some part of the earlier inscription to make room for his record. The stone was probably placed

¹ *C.A.S.R.*, Vol. VII, pp. 125-26.

² *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 29.

³ See the adjective अत्यन्तस्वामिमहामैरवभक्तस्य applied to him in the copper-plates of Pravarasēna II.

⁴ See his description भगवत्चक्रपाणेऽप्रसादोपाजितश्रीसमुदयस्य in the copper-plates of his son Pravarasēna II.

⁵ Note especially the unlooped *n* in line 6. This letter has a looped form in all other Vākātaka inscriptions.

on the broader end of its length and half-buried, leaving only the Vākātaka record above the ground. The left-hand portion of the earlier record was left untouched as the Vākātaka inscription, which was commenced at the narrow end of the slab, was finished about the middle of the stone.

There is only one place, *viz.*, **Chikkamburi**,¹ mentioned in both the records. As pointed out by Hiralal, it is identical with the adjoining village Chikmārā. Chikkamburi seems to have been a flourishing city for more than six hundred years; for, both the *Mahāmātra* of Aśōka and the Vākātaka king Rudrasēna I thought it fit to incise their records there. In ancient times it must have extended to and perhaps included in its expanse the site of the modern village Dēotek where the inscribed slab was lying.

TEXT

- 1 चिक्कम्बु [रि] स
- 2 [स?] ज
- 3 प्रवरम . मस्याय
- 4 वरा[जा*]तस्येद रुद्र—
- 5 सेनरा[ज्ञ.] [स्व*]²धर्मस्थान (नम् ।) [।*]

TRANSLATION

(At) **Chikkamburi**
Pravara³

(Line 4) This (*is*) a special place of religious worship of *Rājan Rudrasēna (I)*, born in the family [*of the Vākātakas*].

¹The name appears as *Chikambar[i]* in the earlier inscription.

²Read रुद्रसेनराजस्य

³This may refer to Pravaraśēna I.

DĒOTEK STONE INSCRIPTION OF RUDRASĒNA I



POONĀ PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

THESE **copper-plates** were found in the possession of one Balwant Bhau Nagarkar, a coppersmith of **Poonā** who originally hailed from Ahmadnagar in the Mahārāshtra State. They are said to have been preserved as an heirloom in his family for some generations. They, however, seem to have originally belonged to the Hīnganghāṭ *tahsil* of the Wardhā District in Vidarbha, for, as shown below, most of the places mentioned in this grant can be located in that *tahsil*. The plates were at first very briefly noticed by Prof. K. B. Pathak in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLI, pp. 214-15. Their importance was immediately recognised and the information furnished by them was utilised by V. A. Smith in his article entitled 'The Vākātaka Dynasty of the Central Provinces and Berar' published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1914, pp. 317 f. They were later edited with facsimiles and an English translation by K. B. Pathak and K. N. Dikshit in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XV, pp. 40 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles as their present whereabouts are not known.

The **plates** are **two** in number, measuring $9\frac{1}{4}$ " long and $5\frac{3}{4}$ " broad. 'They are strung together by means of a ring ($\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter) with soldered ends, passing through a hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, cut through the centre of one side of the plates. The ring is further made to pass through the perforated handle of the **seal**, which is plain and oval in shape (length $2\frac{7}{8}$ ", breadth $2\frac{1}{8}$ "), and contains four lines of inscription, with figures of the sun and the moon above and a flower at the bottom.' The weight of the plates and the ring is 97 *tolās*.

The record is engraved only on the inner side of the two plates, the first containing 10 lines, and the second, 12 lines. The letters on the first plate are somewhat larger than those on the second, the average size of the former is $\frac{1}{4}$ " and that of the latter is $\frac{3}{16}$ ". The writing is in a fair state of preservation.

The **characters** are mostly of the nail-headed variety having a triangle with its apex downwards at the top of the letters. A few letters, however, are of the box-headed type in which all other inscriptions of the Vākātakas were written. See, *e g*, *Vākātaka-* in line 1 of the seal and *si* of *siddham* in line 1 on the first plate. It is noteworthy that besides their box-heads, some of these letters (*e g v* and *s*) have forms which are different from those noticed elsewhere in this grant. They agree with those in other grants of box-headed characters. It would seem therefore that the scribe began to write the present grant in box-headed characters, but not being accustomed to them, he soon changed over to nail-headed characters with which he was more familiar. He may have hailed from North India where the nail-headed characters were in vogue.

The characters show an admixture of northern and southern peculiarities, the former predominating over the latter. Thus, *g* and *s* have a loop at the lower end of their left member, *n* has its vertical and upper bar divided into two, *śh* and *ś* are looped, but *t* and *m* are not, the vertical of *l* is shortened and the tail of *h* turns sharply to the left. Besides these northern characteristics, the following southern ones may also be noticed. *a*, *k* and *r* have a curve turned to the left at the bottom of their verticals; the lingual *d* is round-backed, the medial *ṛ* is shown by a curve turned to the left in *sa-kṛipt-ōpakṛiptah*, line 18, but in *prithivyām-*,

line 5 and *-atisṛiṣṭhō* in line 15 the curve turns to the right. The *jihvāmūlīya* occurs twice in lines 12 and 15, and the *upadhmānīya* once only in line 6. The **language** is Sanskrit and except for two verses, one on the seal and the other of the usual imprecatory type at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may notice the reduplication of the consonant after *r* as in *Nāndivarddhanāt* in line 1 and the use of *ri* for *ṛi* in *drishtam* in the margin of lines 2-3.

The record commences with *drishtam*, 'seen'. The plates were issued from **Nandivardhana** by **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the chief queen of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Rudrasēna** (II) and mother of the *Yuvarāja Divākarasēna*. She was then acting as Regent for her minor son. The plates record the grant of the village **Daṅguna** which the dowager queen made to Āchārya **Chanālasvāmin** on the **twelfth tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika**, evidently after observing a fast on the preceding Prabōdhinī Ēkādaśī. **Prabhāvatīguptā** is described as a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (i.e. Vishnu). She first offered the gift to the foot-prints of the Bhagavat, who is probably the same as Rāmagirisvāmin mentioned in her later Riddhapur plates, and then made it over to the Āchārya. The donated village was situated in the **Supratishṭha āhāra** and lay to the east of **Vilavanaka**, to the south of **Śīrshagrāma** (Śīrīshagrāma?) and to the north of **Kadāpiñjana**. The grant is **dated** in the **thirteenth year** evidently of the boy-prince's reign. The scribe was **Chakradāsa**.

It is noteworthy that though **Prabhāvatīguptā** describes herself as the Chief Queen of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna (II), she gives the **genealogy** of the **Guptas** and not of the Vākātakas in the introductory portion of the present grant. This is also noticed in her later grant recorded in the Riddhapur plates¹. She was evidently very proud of her descent from the imperial Gupta family.

The genealogy begins with **Mahārāja Ghatōtkatcha**, the first king of the Gupta (dynasty). His son was *Mahārāja Chandragupta* (I); the latter's son from the *Mahādēvī Kumārādēvī* was *Mahārājādhirāja Samudragupta*, the daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi** (chief), who performed several *aśvamēdha* sacrifices, his son was *Mahārājādhirāja Chandragupta* (II) a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat, the latter's daughter from the *Mahādēvī Kuberānāgā* who was born in a Nāga family was **Prabhāvatīguptā**. She was the chief queen of the Vākātaka *Mahārāja Rudrasēna* (II) and mother of the *Yuvarāja Divākarasēna*.

It will be noticed that the description of **Prabhāvatī's** Gupta ancestors given in the present grant does not agree completely with that noticed in genuine Gupta records. In the first place it makes no mention of Gupta, the founder of the dynasty. Secondly, Chandragupta I is mentioned with the lower title of *Mahārāja*, not with the imperial one of *Mahārājādhirāja* as in Gupta records. Thirdly, some of the epithets used here to describe Chandragupta II were usually applied to his father Samudragupta². Notwithstanding these differences, the grant is undoubtedly genuine as we find that the genealogy given here is repeated *verbatim* in the Riddhapur plates of the dowager queen³.

The importance of the present grant lies in this that it placed for the first time the Vākātaka genealogy on a sound basis. In the Vākātaka grants discovered before (*viz.* the Chammak, Siwani and Dudiā plates of Pravarasēna II) **Prabhāvatīguptā** was described as the daughter of *Mahārājādhirāja* Dēvagupta. Fleet identified this Dēvagupta with

¹No 8, below

²See e.g. the Allāhābād stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta and the Bhitārī stone pillar inscription of Skandagupta.

³In the Riddhapur plates, Samudragupta also is mentioned with the lower title of *Mahārāj*. See No 8, line 4.

the homonymous king of the Later Gupta dynasty, mentioned in the Dēo-Bārnārī pillar inscription and thus relegated the Vākātakas to the eighth century A C His opinion was accepted by Kielhorn and Sukhtankar The present inscription, which states clearly that Prabhāvatī was the daughter of the Early Gupta king Chandragupta II, proved unmistakably, for the first time, that she lived in the last quarter of the fourth century A C It has since been shown that Dēvagupta was a favourite name of Chandragupta II and so it finds a mention in Vākātaka grants

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nandivardhana** was identified by Hiralal with Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Rāmtēk The identification has since been corroborated by several proofs The other villages, however, remained unidentified A clue to their location was afforded by the Jāmb plates of Pravarasēna II, discovered in 1940, which also mention the same **Supratishtha āhāra**. With this clue I could identify some of the villages mentioned in the present grant **Vilavanaka** seems to be Vanī, about 2½ miles to the west, and **Kadāpīñjana**, Kadhājan 3 miles to the south by east of Hinganghāt Hinganghāt seems therefore to occupy the same position as the ancient village **Danguna**. The latter place-name appears to have been changed to Hingan in course of time, *ghāt* being added to it as it was a fording place on the Wunnā It is noteworthy that the name of the village Kavadhāt on the opposite bank of the same river also ends in *ghāt* As the villages mentioned in the Jāmb plates as situated in the **Supratishtha āhāra** can also be located in the Hinganghāt *tahsil*, that *āhāra* seems to have comprised roughly the territory now included in that *tahsil* The present plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, though discovered in distant Poonā, seem therefore to have originally belonged to the Hinganghāt *tahsil*

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 द्रिष्टम्² [१*] सिद्धम् [१*] जितम्भगवता [१*] स्वस्ति [१*] नान्दिवर्द्धना³दासीद्गुप्तादि[राजो]
म[हाराज]-
- 2 श्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो महाराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य सत्पुत्रो-
- 3 नेकाश्वमेधयाजी लिच्छविदो(दौ)हित्रो महादेव्या कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो
- 4 महाराजाधिराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य (त्स) त्पुत्रस्तत्पादपरिगृहीत
- 5 पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्सर्वराजोछे(छे)त्ता चतुरुदधिसलिलास्वादित-
- 6 यशा नेक⁴गोहिरण्यकोटिसहस्रप्रदस्परमभागवतो महारा-
- 7 जाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारणसगोत्रा नागकुलसम्भू-
- 8 ताया(या) श्रीमहादेव्या कुबेरनायामुत्पन्नोभयकुलालङ्कारभूतात्यन्तभगवद्भक्ता
- 9 वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी युवराज-
- 10 [श्री]दिवाकरसेनजननी श्रीप्रभावति(ती)गुप्ता सुप्रतिष्ठाहारे

Second Plate

- 11 विलवणकस्य पूर्वपार्श्वे शीर्षग्रामस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कदापिञ्जनस्यापरपा[श्वे]
- 12 सिदिविवरकस्योत्तरपार्श्वे दडगुणग्रामे ब्राह्मणाद्यान्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः^४कुशल-
- 13 मुक्त्वा समाज्ञापयति [१*] विदितमस्तु वो यथाय ग्रामोस्माभि स्वपुण्याप्यायना[र्त्थ]
- 14 कार्तिकशुक्लद्वादश्या(श्या) भगवत्पादमूले निवेद्य भगवद्भक्ताचार्य्यचनालस्वामिनेपूर्व-

¹From the facsimiles facing p. 42 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XV.

²Read दृष्टम् This word occurs in the margin between lines 2 and 3

³Read नन्दिवर्द्धना- as in No. 3, line 1

⁴Read अनेक-

- 15 दत्त्या उदकपूर्वमत्तिसृष्टो¹ यतो भवद्भिरुचितमय्यादया सर्वाज्ञाऽकर्तव्या [*] पूर्व-
 16 [राज्जा]²नुमताश्चात्र चातुर्विद्याग्रहारपरिहारान्वितरामस्तद्यथाभटच्छत्र³प्रावेश्य
 17 अचारासनचर्माङ्गारकिण्व⁴क्रेणिखनक अपा[र*]म्पर[*]अ[खनि]⁵मेध्य अपुष्पक्षीरस[न्दोह]
 18 सनिधिस्सोपनिधिस्सकृत्पोपकृत्⁶ [1*]न(त)देष भविष्यद्राजभिस्सरक्षितव्य [*] परिवर्द्ध-
 19 यितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमानस्स्वल्पामप्यत्राबाधा(धा) कुर्यात्कारयित वा⁷-
 20 तस्य ब्राह्मणे(णै) रावेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्याम [1*] व्यासगि(गी) तश्चात्र श्लोको भवति [1*]
 21 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ता(त्ता) वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरा(राम्) [1*] गवा(वां) शतसहस्रस्य हन्तु-
 22 हरेत दुष्कृतम्⁸ [11*]
 22 सवत्सरे च त्रयोदशमे⁹ लिखितमिद(द) शासनम् [1*] चक्रदासेनोत्कटितम् [1*]

SEAL

- 1 वाकाटकललामस्य
 2 [क्र]मप्राप्तनृपश्रिय[1*]
 3 जनन्या युवराजस्य
 4 शासन रिपुशास[न][म्*॥]¹⁰

TRANSLATION

Seen Success! Victory has been attained by the Bhagavat! Hail! From **Nandivar-dhana**—

There was the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Ghatōtkacha**, the first king of the **Guptas**¹¹ His excellent son (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (I)**. His excellent son (*was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Samudragupta**, (*who was*) born of the *Mahādēvī Kumāradēvī*; (*who was*) the daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi** (*chief*); (*and*) who performed several horse-sacrifices His excellent son (*is*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (II)**, graciously favoured by him¹² (*i e*, Samudragupta), who is a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who is a matchless warrior on the earth¹³; who has exterminated all kings, whose fame has tasted the waters of the four oceans¹⁴, (*and*) who has donated many thousands of crores of cows and gold (*coins*).

(Line 7) His daughter, the illustrious **Prabhāvatiguptā** of the **Dhārana gōtra**, born of the illustrious *Mahādēvī Kubēranāgā*, who was (*herself*) born in the **Nāga** family,—who is a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who (*was*) the Chief Queen of the illustrious **Rudra-sēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**; who is the mother of the *Yuvarāja*, the illustrious

¹ Read -मत्तिसृष्ट ।

² Read राजा-

³ Read च्छत्र- as in other Vākātaka plates.

⁴ Some grants add लवण before किण्व

⁵ The previous editors read अ[पशु]-, but the *aksharas* are clearly as given above

⁶ Read सकृत्पोपकृत् .

⁷ Read कार्यद्वा

⁸ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁹ Read त्रयोदश

¹⁰ Metre *Anushtubh*.

¹¹ Pathak and Dikshit translated, “who had Gupta as the first king” But see *Guptānām-ādirāja* in lines 1-2 of the Riddhapur plates (No. 8, below), which shows that the intended sense is as given here

¹² *Lit* favoured by his feet.

¹³ These adjectives are usually applied to Samudragupta

¹⁴ This expression is generally translated as ‘whose fame has been tasted by the waters of the four oceans’ See *CII*, Vol III, p 54 and *Ep Ind.*, Vol XV, p 43 But compare *ti-samuda-toya-pīta vāhanasa* (*ibid*, Vol. VIII, p 60), which shows that the intended sense is as above.

POONĀ PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

Seal



2 2
4 4
6 6
8 8
10 10

12 12
14 14
16 16
18 18
20 20
22 22

Divākarasēna;—having announced (*her*) good health, commands the householders of the village, Brāhmanas and others, (*residing*) in the village of **Daniguna**, (*situated*) in the *āhāra* of **Supratishṭha**, to the east of **Vilavanaka**, to the south of **Śirshagrāma**, to the west of **Kadāpiñjana** and to the north of **Sidivivaraka**, as follows —

“Be it known to you that on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of **Kārttika**, We have, for augmenting our own religious merit, donated this village, with the pouring out of water, to the *Āchārya* **Chanālasvāmin**, who is a devotee of the Bhagavat, as a gift not previously made, after having offered it to the foot-prints of the Bhagavat. Wherefore, you should obey all (*his*) commands, with proper respect

(L. 16) And We confer here on (*him*) the following exemptions incidental to an *agrahāra* granted to the Chāturvidya (Brāhmanas), as approved by former kings — (*This village is*) not to be entered by soldiers and policemen¹, (*it is*) exempt from (*the obligation to provide*) grass, hides as seats, and charcoal² (*to touring royal officers*), exempt from (*the royal prerogative of*) purchasing fermenting liquors³ and digging (*salt*), exempt from (*the right to*) mines and khadira trees⁴, exempt from (*the obligation to supply*) flowers and milk, (*it is donated*) together with (*the right to*) hidden treasures and deposits (*and*) together with major and minor taxes⁵.

(L. 18) Wherefore, this (*grant*) should be maintained and augmented by future kings. Whoever, disregarding Our order, will (*himself*) cause or make (*others*) cause the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmanas, We will inflict punishment together with a fine

And there is, on this point, (*the following*) verse sung by Vyāsa.—

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(L. 22) This charter⁶ has been written in the **thirteenth** (*regnal*) **year**.* (*It has been*) engraved by **Chakradāsa**.

SEAL

(*This is*) the enemy-chastising command of the Mother of the *Yuvarāja*, the ornament of the **Vākātakas**, who has attained royal fortune by inheritance

¹*Bhātas* are soldiers and *chhātras* (lit. umbrella-bearers), who correspond to the *chātas* of other records (cf. No. 19, line 37), are policemen. They were forbidden to enter the donated villages except for apprehending thieves and persons accused of high treason. Cf. No. 19, lines 37-38.

²Fleet translated, ‘It does not carry with it (the right to) pasturage, hides and charcoal’. He thought that this and other similar expressions reserved certain rights to the villagers against the grantees. See *CII*, Vol. III, p. 242, n. 1. This does not appear to be correct. The expression evidently exempts the donee from the duty of feeding and lodging royal officers during their stay in the village. Later grants mention a tax called *vasati-danda*, which was levied for the purpose. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 225 and n. Cf. *a-tana-kattha-gahanam* in the Hirahadagalli plates. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, pp. 5 f.

³*Kinva* is a drug or seed used to cause fermentation in the manufacture of spirits. See *MSM*, ch. VIII, 326. Later grants mention that the right to *mahua* trees from which liquor was manufactured was transferred to the donee. *CII*, Vol. IV, p. 343.

⁴Pathak and Dikshit, who read *a-paśu-mēdhya* in line 17, translated, ‘not to have an animal sacrifice’, but the reading of the text is clearly *a-kham-mēdhya*. *Mēdhya* has therefore to be taken in the sense of ‘Khadira trees’.

⁵Kautilya *Arthasāstra* (p. 60) gives *kṛpta* in the sense of ‘fixed assessment’. *Kṛpta* and *upakṛpta* correspond to *bhāga* and *bhōga*, which occur in the grants of Bharatabala and the kings of Śarabhapura. *Kṛpta* probably means ‘land-tax’, and *upakṛpta* miscellaneous taxes in cash or kind.

⁶Fleet translated *ripusāsanam* by ‘a charter for (the observance of even) his enemies’. Pathak and Dikshit translated as above.

JĀMB PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were discovered, in 1940, in the possession of one Baburao Madhavrao Athole, Mokasdar of Jāmb, a village, about 7 miles north by east of Hinganghāt, in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District in Vīdarbha. They were edited by me with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVI, pp 155 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 8" by 4 11". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the remaining two on both the sides. When the plates were first seen by me, they were held together by a ring, but its ends were neither joined by a pin nor soldered. The seal which it must have carried is not forthcoming now. All the plates are in a good state of preservation, and consequently there is no uncertainty in the reading anywhere. The weight of the four plates is 185 *tōlās* and that of the ring is 16 *tōlās*.

The record consists of 36 lines, six being written on each inscribed face of the four plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety. The following peculiarities may be noticed —The box is in some cases fixed to the back of *j*, instead of being added at the top (cf *mahārāja-* in lines 7 and 8); in some cases the box is not added at all (cf *mahārāja-* in line 14), the sign of the *upadhmānīya* which occurs in lines 13, 15 and 33 has in all cases a box added at the top which is not noticed in other records, final *m*, which is seen in a smaller size, has a box-head in *siddham*, but not in *drishtam*, both in line 1, the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere, *kh* is without a loop (cf *khanaka-*, line 27 and *lkhuta-*, line 36), the lingual *d* is distinguished from *d* in *danda*, line 11, but not in *Mandukī-*, line 18 and *Kaundīnya* in line 19, the subscript *t* is in some cases looped, finally, single and double dots are used here and there to denote punctuation, which is redundant in most cases.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse in lines 34-35, the record is in prose throughout. As regards **orthography**, we find that consonants are reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, line 5, and *mūrdh-*, line 6, *th* is reduplicated before *y* in *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 6, and *vsarga* before *p* is changed to *upadhmānīya* in lines 13, 15 and 33.

The record opens with the word *drishtam*, 'seen'. The plates were issued by **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākātaka dynasty** from **Nandivardhana**. In the introductory portion of the grant his genealogy is traced from **Samrāt Pravarasēna I**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātaka** (dynasty). He belonged to the Vishnuvridha *gōtra* and performed several Vedic sacrifices such as Agnishtoma, Aptōryāma, Ukthya, Shodaśin, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Brihaspatisava and Sādyaskra as well as four Aśvamēdhas. He was succeeded by his grandson **Rudrasēna I**, the son of **Gautamīputra** from the daughter of **Bhavanāga**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Bhāraśivas**. The royal family of the Bhāraśivas is said to have been created by the god Śiva who was pleased by their carrying his *linga* on their shoulders. They performed ten Aśvamēdhas and were crowned with the water of the Bhāgīrathī (Gangā) which they had obtained by their valour. *Mahārāja* Rudrasēna I was a fervent devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava. He was succeeded by his son *Mahārāja* **Prithivīshēṇa (I)**, who was a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara. He was endowed with several noble qualities and ruled for a long time, having sons and grandsons as well as a large army and a treasure which had been accumulating for a hundred years. His son was *Mahārāja* **Rudrasēna II**, who is said to have acquired

royal fortune by the grace of Chakrapāni (Viṣṇu) His son from **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of *Māhārājādhrāja* **Dēvagupta**, was *Mahārāja* **Pravarasēna II**, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara As stated before, this Dēvagupta is none other than Chandragupta II -Vikramāditya, the illustrious Emperor of the Gupta dynasty

The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Kōthuraka** which was situated in the *āhāra* (territorial division) of **Supratishtha**. The village lay to the west of the river **Umā**, to the north of **Chiñchāpallī**, to the east of **Bonthikavātaka** and to the south of **Mandukigrāma** The donee was the celibate Brāhmana **Kāluttaka**, who belonged to the Kaundinya *gotra* and the Taituriya *śākhā* of the Black *Yajurveda* The grant was made at the victorious place of religious worship (*varjayika dharmasthāna*) and is dated on the **twelfth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Āśvina** in the **second** regnal year The **Dūtaka** was **Chakradēva**, and the scribe **Nāgavarman**.

The donee of the present plates is called *gana-yājñ* It may therefore be conjectured that the grant was made on the occasion of a *gana-yāga* at which he officiated as a priest. The *Manusmṛiti* (III, 164) enjoins that a sacrificer of the Ganas should be avoided at a Śrāddha The expression *ganānām yājakah* is variously interpreted by the commentators of Manu¹, but Buhler's suggestion² that the reference may be to the *gana-hōmas* mentioned in the *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra* seems to be preferable These *gana-homas* were to be performed by a person for himself A Brāhmana is, however, allowed to perform the rite for his teacher, father and mother, but for none else If he performs it for others through greed, he is tainted by sin and perishes like one who has swallowed poison. Baudhāyana, however, says later on (IV, 8, 10) that through a desire of removing one's guilt one may cause these oblations to be offered by men who have been engaged for money in case one is unable to do it, a man need not torment himself This means, as explained by the commentator Govindasvāmin, that the wealthy man who engages a priest for the performance of the rite will be freed from sin, but the latter will be tainted by guilt³ This explains why the priests who performed *gana-hōmas* for others out of greed were avoided at a *śrāddha* Naturally few persons must have come forward to do the rite and those who did it received a high reward The case is analogous to that of the first annual *śrāddha* in honour of a dead person or to that of a *śrāddha* at an eclipse The donee of the present plates seems to have performed such a *gana-hōma* for Pravarasena II, from whom he received a village as his sacrificial fee

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Nandivardhana** has already been identified with Nandardhan or Nagardhan near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur District **Kōthuraka**, the donated village, cannot now be traced. Its site seems to have been occupied by Māngaon on the right bank of the Wunnā, about 2½ miles north by west of Jāmb, since all the boundary villages mentioned in the present plates can be identified in its vicinity in their respective directions Thus **Chiñchāpallī** is Chichōlī which also is situated on the right bank of the same river Wunnā, half a mile to the south of Māngaon, **Bōnthikavātaka** is now called Bōthad and **Mandukigrāma**, Māndgaon, about 3½ miles to the north by west and 2 miles to the north respectively from Māndgaon The *Wardhā District Gazetteer* records a tradition that Māndgaon is named after one Māndō Rishi who is said to have done penance on the Wunnā river The present grant, however, shows that the ancient name of the place

¹For other interpretations of *gana-yāga*, see *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI, pp. 157 f

²See his *Laws of Manu*, S B E, Vol. XXV, p. 106

³See Gāvindasvāmin's commentary on *Baudhāyana-Dharmasūtra*, IV, 8, 9

was Mandukigrāma. The identification of these three boundaries shows that the river **Umā** which formed the eastern boundary of the donated village is none other than the Wunnā. As shown before, **Supratishtha** the headquarters of the *āhāra* in which these villages were situated comprised roughly the territory now included in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Wardhā District.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 द्वि(दृ)ष्टम् [।*] सिद्धम् [।*] स्वस्त(स्ति) नन्दिवर्द्धना[त् ।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्य-
षोडश्यतिरात्र-
- 2 वाजपेयवृहस्य(स्प)तिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन² विष्णुवृद्ध-
- 3 सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्³ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो⁴
- 4 अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ॥⁵ असभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो⁶ -
- 5 [द्व]हनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशानाम् परावक्रमाधिगतभागी-
- 6 रत्थ्यमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्ताना दशश्वमेधावभृथस्नाताना(ना) भारशिवाना

Second Plate First Side

- 7 महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।⁵ वाकाट-
- 8 कानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य ॥⁵
- 9 सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्व)-
- 10 पात्रगतभ[क्ति]त्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्मर्ल्यादिगुणैस्समु-
- 11 पेतस्य ॥ वर्ष[ष]शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तान-
- 12 पुत्रपौत्रिण[] युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीपृथिवी-

Second Plate Second Side

- 13 सेनस्य सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेप्रसादा(दो)पार्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य
- 14 महाराजश्री(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-
- 15 सुताय(या) प्रभावतीगुप्ताय(या)मुत्पन्नस्य ॥⁷ शम्भोप्रसादधृति(त)कार्त-
- 16 युगस्य ।⁷ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहारा[ज*]श्रीप्रवरसेन-
- 17 स्य वचना[त्*] । सुप्रतिष्ठाह(हा)रे ।⁷ उमानद्या अपरपार्श्वे ।⁷ चिचापल्या⁸-
- 18 उत्तरे पार्श्वे ।⁷ बौन्धिकवाटकस्य ।⁷ पूर्वे पार्श्वे ।⁷ मण्डुकिग्रामस्य-

Third Plate First Side

- 19 दक्षिणे पार्श्वे ।⁷ कोथुरकन्नामग्राम कौण्डिन्यसगोत्र ।⁷ तैत्तिरिकगणयाजि-
- 20 कालुट्टकब्रह्मचारिणे दत्ता(त्त) [।*] यतोस्मत्सन्तका सर्वाद्धचक्षनियोगनियुक्ता
- 21 आज्ञासचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भट्टा⁹श्छात्राश्च विषुतपूर्वयाज्ञाज्ञापयि-
- 22 तव्या¹⁰ विदितमस्तु व. यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यवि-
- 23 वृद्धये इहामुत्रहितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धम्म(म्म)स्थाने अपूर्वद-

¹ From the facsimile facing pages 160-61, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVI.

² Here and in many places below, rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed.

³ Read सम्राजो

⁴ Read सूनो सूनो

⁵ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁶ The *anusvāra* is misplaced Read असभार-

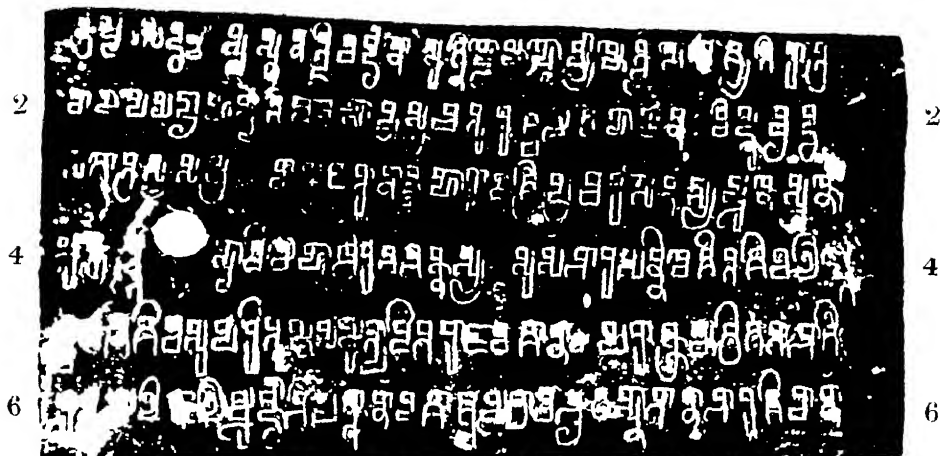
⁷ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁸ Read चिचापल्या

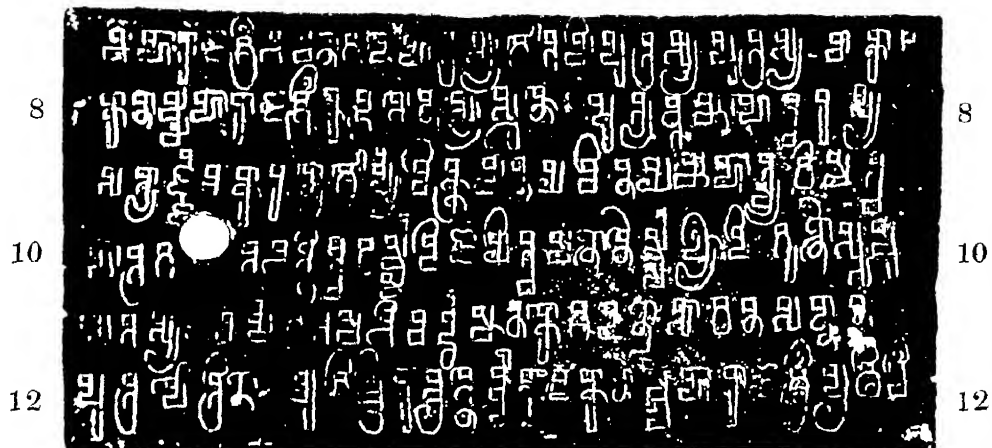
⁹ Read भटा as in other Vākātaka grants

¹⁰ Read विश्रुतपूर्वयाज्ञाज्ञापयितव्या

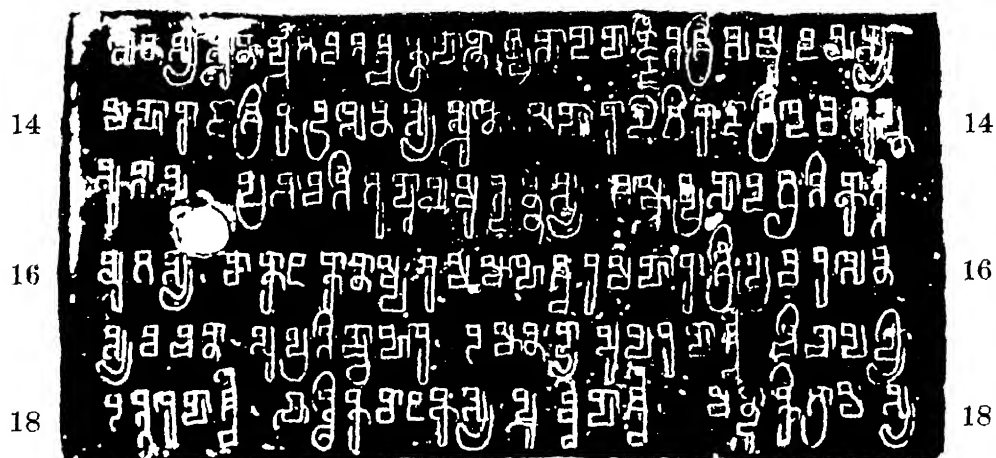
JĀMB PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



22, a



22, b



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24 त्या(त्या) उदकपूर्वमसिष्ट [1*] यथास्योपचिता¹ पूर्वराजानुमताञ्चातुर्व्वेद्य-

Third Plate Second Side

25 ग्राममर्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा² अकरदायि³ अभटच्छत्र⁴प्रावेश्य[] अपा-
 26 रम्परगोबलवर्द्ध[]⁵ अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[*] अवा(चा)रासेनचर्मज्झार[*] अल-
 27 वणकिलन्नक्लेनीखनक⁶ सर्व्वेष्टि⁷सपरिहारपरिहृत सनिधि
 28 सोपनिधि[*] सकिलप्तोपाकिलप्त[]⁸ आचन्द्रादित्यकालि(ली)य पुत्रपौत्रानु[गा*]-
 29 मिक भुञ्जता(तो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य सर्व्वकृ(त्रि)याभिस्सरक्षितव्य [*]
 30 परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्चा(श्च) [1*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा

Fourth Plate

31 कुर्यात्कारयित वा⁹ तस्य ब्राम्हणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्ड निग्रह कुर्याम ॥
 32 अस्मिश्च धर्म्मदिरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन¹⁰
 33 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम [1*] व्यासगि(गी)तश्चात्र श्लोकप्रमाणी-
 34 कर्त्तव्य[] [1*] स्वदत्ता परदत्ता वा हरेद्यो वै वसुन्धरा[म*] । गवा शतसहस्रस्य
 35 हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत(तम्)¹¹ । [1१॥*] सवत्सरे द्वितीये अश्वयुज¹²मासशुक्लद्वादश्या(स्यां) ।¹³
 36 चक्रदेवदूतक¹⁴ नागवर्म्मणा लिखित[म्]¹⁵ ॥*॥

TRANSLATION

Scen. Success ! Hail ! From **Nandivardhana**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛtāyuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, who acquired an abundance of prosperity by the grace of the Divine (Lord) Chakrapāni (Vishnu), and who¹⁶ was the son of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (I)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, who was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Mahēśvara, who was endowed with truthfulness, straightforwardness, compassion, heroism, valour, political wisdom, modesty, high-mindedness, intelligence, devotion to worthy persons, and with the state of being a righteous conqueror, purity of mind, and such other qualities, who had sons and grandsons and a continuous supply of treasure and army which had been accumulating for a hundred years, who conducted himself like Yudhishtīra, and who was the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (I)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas** and the son of

¹Read -स्योचिता-

²Read -मर्यादा वितराम-

³Read अकरदायी.

⁴Read -च्छत्र - as in other Vākātaka grants

⁵Read -बलीवर्द्ध-

⁶Read -किण्वक्त्रेणिखनक

⁷Read -विष्टि-

⁸Read सकलृप्तोपवलृप्त

⁹Read -त्कारयेद्वा

¹⁰Read -राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन

¹¹Metre *Anushtubh*.

¹²Read आश्वयुज-

¹³This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁴Read चक्रदेवदूतक

¹⁵There is a floral design between these two sets of *dandas*

¹⁶*e* Rudrasēna II

Gautamīputra, who was intensely devoted to (*the god*) Svāmi-Mahābhairava, who was the daughter's son of the illustrious **Bhavanāga**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Bhārasīvas**, whose royal family was created by Śiva, who was greatly pleased by (*their*) carrying the *linga* of Śiva like a load placed on (*their*) shoulder, and who were besprinkled on their head with the pure water of the (*river*) Bhāgīrathī that had been obtained by their valour,¹ who¹ was the son of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (I)**, the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas, the *Samrāt* (Universal Monarch), who performed the Agnishtōma, Āptōryāma, Ukṛhya, Shōḍaśin, Atirātra, Vājapēya, Brihaspatisava, Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas, and who was of the Viśṇu-vriddha *gōtra*

(Line 17) The village named **Kōthuraka** situated in the *āhāra* of **Supratishṭha**, which (*is*) to the west of the river **Umā**, to the north of **Chīnchāpallī**, to the east of **Bōnthī-kavāṭaka** (*and*) to the south of **Maṇḍukigrāma**, has been donated (*by Us*) to the *Brahmachārīn* (*named*) **Kāluttaka**, who has performed a *gana-yāga* and who belongs to the Taittirīya *śākhā*

(Line 20) Wherefore, Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaśha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, and (*Our*) soldiers and policemen² should be directed by the (*following*) command which is already well-known (*to them*) —

“Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power victory and prosperity, to secure Our well-being in this world and the next and to obtain blessings for Ourselves, We have given here in (*Our*) victorious place of religious worship, with the pouring out of water, (*this village*) as a gift not previously made

And We grant the following exemptions which are incidental to a village bestowed on a Brāhmaṇa proficient in the four *Vēdas* and are appropriate, as approved by former kings — It is not to pay taxes, it is not to be entered by soldiers and policemen; it does not entitle (*the State*) to customary cows and bulls³, it does not (*also*) entitle it to (*royalties on*) flowers and milking, it is exempt from (*the obligation to provide*) grass, hides as seats and charcoal (*to touring royal officers*)⁴, it is exempt from (*royalties on*) the purchase of fermenting liquors and the digging of salt⁵, it is free from all kinds of forced labour, it is donated together with (*the right to*) hidden treasures and deposits (*and*) together with major and minor taxes⁶ it is to be enjoyed as long as the sun and the moon (*will endure*) and it is to follow the succession of sons and son's sons. None should cause an obstruction while (*the donee or his successor*) is enjoying it. (*This grant*) should be preserved and increased by all means. And whoever disregarding Our order, will himself cause or make (*others*) cause even the slightest obstruction, upon him, when complained against by the Brāhmaṇas, We will inflict punishment together with a fine”

(Line 32) In showing thus Our regard to religion, We, in order to avoid mention

¹D R Bhandarkar suggested that *sūnōh sūnōh* in line 3 refers to Gautamīputra, who succeeded Pravarasēna I. The construction is no doubt faulty. It would be better to read *Gautamīputra- putras* as in No 13, line 9. There is no doubt that Gautamīputra did not reign. See the absence of the title *Vākātakanām Mahārāja* in his case. For the probable reason for the faulty construction, see *Ind Cu* Vol XI, pp 232 f

²See above, p 9, n 1

³Fleet translated, ‘It does not carry with it (*the right to*) cows and bulls in succession of production and remarked that the interpretation here was not quite certain. Perhaps, the right to demand the first calf of a cow is referred to here

⁴See above, p 9, n 2

⁵See above, p 9, n 3

⁶See above, p 9, n 5

of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to (*Our*) care and protection of the grants of many past kings.

And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point:—

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(Line 35). (*This charter has been written*) by **Nāgavarman** on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) of the month **Āśvayuja** in the **second** (*regnal*) **year**, **Chakradēva** being the **Dūtaka**.

BĒLŌRĀ PLATES (SETS A AND B) OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were discovered in the possession of Mr N H Jane of **Bēlōrā**, a village in the Ārvī *tahsil* of the Wardhā District, which is situated on the left bank of the Wardhā, about 6 miles south by east of Mōrsī. They were edited by me with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXIV, pp 260 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The four **copper-plates** obtained from the owner were, on examination, found to fall into two sets of two plates each, called hereafter Set A and Set B. Each set originally consisted of three plates, but the last plate of Set A and the first one of Set B are not forthcoming now. The first plate of Set A is inscribed on one side only, and all the other plates on both the sides. The plates of Set A are slightly larger in size and heavier in weight than those of Set B. The former measure 9 9" by 4 9", and weigh 67½" *tōlās*, while the latter measure 9 6" by 4 8" each, and weigh 64 *tōlās*. About 2" from the middle of the top right of each plate there is a round hole ½" in diameter for the ring which originally held together the plates of each set, but neither the rings nor the seals which must have been connected with them are now forthcoming. All the plates are in an excellent state of preservation. The letters are deeply cut and some of them show through on the other side, especially in the case of the first plate. When carefully examined, the grants appear to be palimpsests, all the plates showing here and there clear traces of earlier letters which were beaten in before the present charters were incised on them. These earlier letters were box-headed and of the same type as those which were later engraved in their place. So the earlier charters undoubtedly belong to the same period. As their letters have been almost everywhere carefully beaten in, it is not now possible to say who issued them, what they recorded and why they were cancelled.

As stated above, both the inscriptions are incomplete. The preserved writing of the first one, which has lost its concluding part, contains 18 lines, and that of the second of which the initial portion is missing, 24 lines. The **characters** of both are of the box-headed variety and resemble in a general way those of the other grants of Pravarasēna. The only peculiarity worth noticing is the use of the looped *t*. In both the sets, *t* appears in the looped and unlooped forms, for instances of the former, see *yātō-* in line 14 of Set A and *viditam-* in line 17 of Set B, and for those of the latter, notice *Shōdashy-Atirātra-* in line 1 of Set A and *atīt-* in line 25 of Set B. The subscript *t* is usually looped and to distinguish it from *n* its loop elongated, see e.g. *Kārttayuga-* in line 12 and *bhukti* in line 13 of Set A.

The **language** is Sanskrit. The existing portion of Set A is wholly in prose; that of Set B is also in prose except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 27-29. The **orthography** of both the sets shows the same peculiarities, *viz*, (1) the vowel *ri* is used for *ru* and *vice versa*, see *paurīmah* and *Prithvīsēnasya* in line 9 of both the sets. In *vishṛīta*, line 16 of Set B, the vowel *ri* is used for *ru*. (2) Similarly, *li* is used for the vowel *li* in *kṛpt-ōpakṛpa* in line 22 of Set B. (3) The palatal *ś* is used for the dental *s* in *Śūryya-* line 14 of Set A. (3) The consonant following *r* and that preceding *r* and *y* are doubled, see e.g. *abhiwarddhamāna-* in line 8 and *sarvāddhyaksha* in lines 14-15 of both the sets and *vikkrama* in line 7 of Set A. Besides, both the sets show such mistakes as the use of the short for the long vowel, ungrammatical forms of words, etc.

Both the sets of plates were issued by **Pravarasēna II** of the **Vākāṭaka** dynasty. His genealogy is traced here from **Pravarasēna I** exactly as in the preceding Jāmb plates, his maternal grandfather Chandragupta II being called **Dēvagupta**. The plates of set A, the record on which begins with *drishtam*, were issued from **Nandivardhana**. The place of issue in the case of those of Set B is unknown owing to the loss of its first plate. The former record the grant of the village **Mahalla-Lāta** in the **Asi bhukti**, which was situated in the *mārga* (subdivision) of **Śailapura**, while the latter register the donation of two villages, viz, **Dīrghadraha** in the **Pāṅkanarāshṭra** and **Mahallama-Lāta**. Of these latter villages, the second is plainly identical with the village Mahalla-Lāta of Set A as it is specified exactly like it. The grant recorded in Set B is, therefore, later than that of Set A. The donee of both the grants was the same viz, **Sūryasvāmin** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and Taittirīya *śākhā*, who was a resident of the place **Pravarēśvara-shaḍvīmśati-vāṭaka**. Both the grants were, again, made at the victorious place of religious worship (*varjayaṅka-dharma-sthāna*) for the increase of religious merit, life, strength, victory and fortune of the donor. The date of the first record is missing, but that of the second is given at the end. The latter was written, while **Chitravarman** was the *Sēnāpati*, on the **thirteenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight of Kārttika** in the **eleventh** regnal year.

As stated above, the second set of plates records the grant of two villages, one of which had already been given by the same king to the same donee by the first set. Why it was found necessary to include the village again in the second grant is not known. Cases of the issue of a fresh charter recording again a previously made gift are indeed not unknown; but in such cases the circumstances which necessitated the issue of a fresh charter such as a foreign invasion or the loss or damage of the earlier charter by fire etc., are generally specified¹. No such reasons are given in the present case. In fact, both the charters purport to have been granted by the same king and the interval between their dates could not have been more than ten years. This therefore raises the question if the second charter, or at least the second plate of it which records the grant of two villages, is a forgery². In favour of such a supposition may be adduced the circumstance that the writing on the second plate of Set B begins and ends with the same words as that on the second plate of Set A, so that the former plate could have been easily substituted for the latter. It may, however, be pointed out that there are no other circumstances suggesting such a forgery. As shown above, both the plates of Set B are smaller in size than those of Set A so that not one but two plates must have been so substituted. But there was apparently no need to replace the third plate of the first grant. Again, the similar formation of letters and the occurrence of the same orthographical peculiarities and grammatical mistakes in both the records make it highly probable that both the grants were written by the same clerk in the Secretariat of the Vākātakas. The mention of Chitravarman as *Sēnāpati* in Set B is another point in favour of the genuineness of that set, for, from the Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II we learn that Chitravarman held that office till at least the 18th year of

¹ See e.g. the Barah copper-plate of Bhōjadēva, *Ep Ind*, Vol XIX, p 18, and the Nidhanpur copper-plates of Bhāskaravarman, *ibid*, Vol XII, p. 76.

² Dr N P Chakravarti has suggested that the grant of two villages in Plate II of Set B was found to be wrong on examination and that this plate was meant to be replaced by Plate II of Set A which was subsequently engraved. He has drawn attention to the ornamental mark found after *atśrishtah* in Plate II of Set A, which, according to him, was intended to prevent any unauthorized addition in the blank space left at the end of that line. He has not, however, offered any satisfactory explanation for the circumstance that the unwanted plate was not removed or cancelled.

Pravarasēna II's reign The second set does not, therefore, appear to be spurious The reason why it includes the name of a previously donated village seems to be that the Brāhmana donee probably made a request to the king to give him a consolidated charter for the two grants

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grants, **Nandivardhana** has already been shown to be identical with Nandardhan (or Nagardhan) near Rāmtēk in the Nāgpur District **Mahalla-Lāta** or **Mahallama-Lāta** which seems to mean the larger Lāta may be represented by Lādkī or Ghāt Lādkī in the Mōrsī tālukā of the Amarāvati District, about 18 miles north by west of Bēlōrā¹ Mahalla-Lāta lay in the *mārga* of **Śailapura** which may be identical with Sālbardī² situated in the midst of hills about 15 miles east of Lādkī **Asi**, the chief town of the *bhukti* (subdivision) in which Mahalla-Lāta was situated, may be identical with Ashtī which lies only 10 miles south of Bēlōrā **Dirghadraha** is probably Dīghī on the left bank of the Wardhā, about 30 miles south of Ashtī The name of **Pravarēśvara-shaḍvīm-śativātaka** which is mentioned in both the grants as the home of the donee seems to indicate that it was the chief village in a group of twenty-six villages Perhaps it received this name from a shrine of Śiva called *Pravarēśvara* installed by Pravarasēna I and named after himself³ This place as well as **Pākkana**, the headquarters of the *rāshtra* (division) in which Dirghadraha, one of the donated villages, was situated, cannot be traced now

TEXT⁴

Set A

First Plate

- 1 द्रिष्टम्⁵ [1*] सिद्धम् स्वस्ति [1*] ना(न)न्दिवर्द्धनादग्निष्टोमाप्तोय्यमिवोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्र-
वाजपेयबृहस्पतिसव-
- 2 साद्यस्क(स्क)चतुरश्य(स्व)मेधयाजिन⁶ विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्⁷ वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-
श्चि(श्री)प्रवर-
- 3 सेनस्य सूनो[*] सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य असभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गो-
- 4 द्रहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशानाम्पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्यमलजल-
- 5 मूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्चि(श्री)भवनागदौहित्रस्य
- 6 गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।⁸ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य

Second Plate First side

- 7 सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यश्रीमत्व⁹धोम[त्व*]पात्रगतभक्तित्व-
- 8 धर्मविजयित्वम[नो]नैर्ममत्यादिगुणै[*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशद-
- 9 ण्डसाधनस[न्ता]नपुत्रपौतृ(त्रि)ण युधिष्वि(ष्ठि)रवृत्ते[] वाक(का)टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिवीसे-
- 10 नस्य¹⁰ सु(सू)नोभगवतश्चक्रपाणेप्रसादोपा[ज्जि]तश्रीसमुदयस्य ।⁸ महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-

¹ There is another small village called Lādgaon on the left bank of the Wardhā, about 20 miles south of Bēlōrā

² Sālbardī is an ancient place containing some old caves and hot springs

³ Compare the name Vankō-Tummāna of the first capital of the Kalachuris in Chhattisgadhi (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol IV, p 34). It was so called because of the shrine of Vankēśvara which it contained It may be noted in this connection that the temple of Pravarēśvara is mentioned in line 1 of No. 14, below.

⁴ From the original plates and facsimiles facing pp 264 and 266 in *Ep Ind.*, Vol XXIV.

⁵ Read दृष्टम्

⁶ Here and in many places below, the rules of *Sandhi* have not been observed

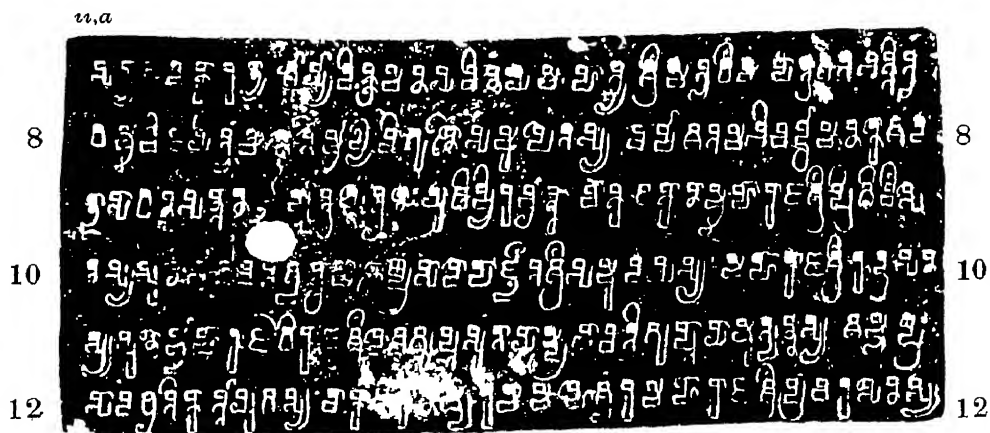
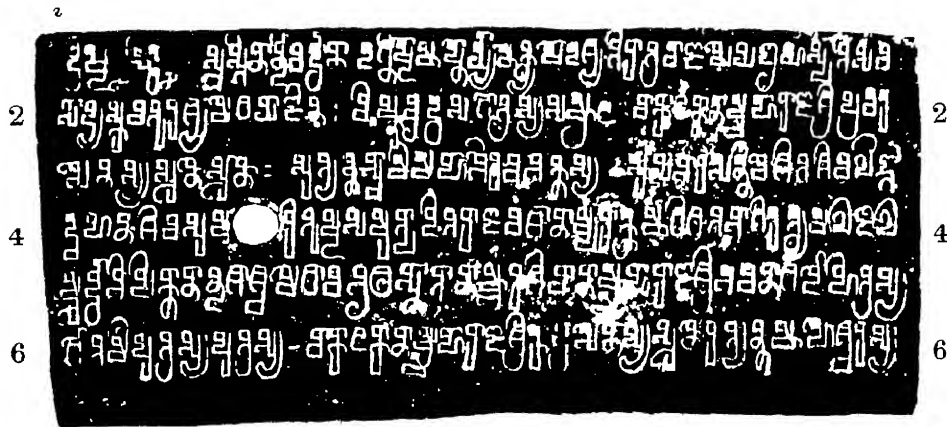
⁷ Read सम्राजो

⁸ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁹ Read श्रीमत्त्व. This word does not occur in other Vākātaka grants.

¹⁰ Read श्रीपृथिवीषेणस्य

BĒLŌRĀ PLATES (SET A) OF PRAVARASĒNA II



- 11 स्य सु(सू)नोर्महाराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोऽप्र-
12 सादधृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य¹ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य

Second Plate : Second side

- 13 वचनात् [i] शैलपुरमार्गे² असिभुक्तिमहल्ललाटग्रामे (म)³ प्रवरेश्वरषट्त्रिंशकवाट-
14 कवस्तव्याय⁴ ॥ तै [त्ति]⁵रीयाय । काश्यपसगोत्रशूर्यस्वामिने⁶ दत्त [i*] यतोस्मत्सन्त(न्त)-
का सर्वा[द्व्यक्ष]-
15 क्षनिया(यो)गनियुक्ता. आज्ञासञ्चारि⁷कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्वयाज्ञाय(या)-
16 ज्ञापयितव्या [i*] विदितमस्तु व यथैहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्बल⁸विजयैश्वर्य्य-
17 व(वि)वृद्धये ।⁹ इहामुत्रहितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय ॥⁹ वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्या(त्या)
18 उदकपूर्वमसिष्ट¹⁰ [i*]

Set B

Second Plate First side

- 7 ¹¹सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म (त्म्य)धीमत्व (त्व)पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्म-
8 विजयित्वमनोनैम(मै)ल्यादिगुण[*] समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसा-
9 धनसन्तानपुत्रपौतृ (त्रि)ण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसेनस्य¹²
10 सूनोभ(भै)गवत¹³श्चक्रपाणेऽप्रसादोपाज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य म्म(म)हाराजश्रीरुद्र-
11 सेनस्य सूनोर्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाः¹⁴प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य-
12 शम्भोऽप्रसाव(द)धृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य¹⁵ ।¹⁶ वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहे(हा)राजश्रीप्रवरसे-

Second Plate Second side

- 13 त(न)स्य वचना[त्*] । पाक्कणराष्ट्रे दीर्घद्रहन्नाम¹⁷ ग्राम [*] । शैलपुरमार्गे असिभुक्ति-
14 महल्लमलाटग्रामश्च एव ग्रामद्वय ॥¹⁶ प्रवरेश्वरषट्त्रिंशतिवाटकवस्तव्य¹⁸-
15 तैत्तिरिय¹⁹काश्यपसगोत्र[सु]²⁰र्य्यस्वामिने दत्त[म्*] [i] यतोस्मत्सन्तका सर्वाद्व्यक्ष²¹नियोग-
16 नियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विष्ट(श्रु)तपूर्वयाज्ञाज्ञा²²-
17 पयितव्या विदितमस्तु व [i*] यथै(थे)हास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्बलविजय(यै)श्वर्य्यविवृद्धये । इह

¹ Read -धृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य

² Read शैलपुर as in line 13 of Set B below

³ In Set B the name of this village occurs in the form महल्लमलाटग्राम

⁴ Perhaps प्रवरेश्वरषट्त्रिंशतिवाटकवास्तव्याय is the correct reading

⁵ The subscript *t* of *tti* is not completely engraved,

⁶ Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने

⁷ Read आज्ञासञ्चारि-

⁸ Read धर्मायुर्बल-

⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁰ An ornamental figure is incised here

¹¹ As the first plate, like the others of this set, must have contained six lines, I have numbered the first line on this side as 7

¹² Read श्रीप्रिथिवीसेनस्य

¹³ This *usarga* is superfluous

¹⁴ Read सुताया

¹⁵ Read धृतिकार्त्तयुगस्य

¹⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁷ Read दीर्घद्रह नाम

¹⁸ Read प्रवरेश्वरषट्त्रिंशतिवाटकवास्तव्य-

¹⁹ Read तैत्तिरीय-

²⁰ The engraver first incised षु and then changed it into सु Read सूर्य्यस्वामिने.

²¹ Read सर्वाद्व्यक्ष-

²² Read पूर्वयाज्ञाज्ञा-

- 18 मुत्रहितार्थमात्मानुग्रह(हा)य वैजैके¹ धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्त्या² उदकपूर्वमति[सृष्ट]³ [।*]

Thurd Plate: First side

- 19 उचिताश्चास्य⁴ पूर्वराजानुमता चातुर्वेद्यग्राममर्यादान्वितरामस्तद्यथा⁵ अकरदायि
20 अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य[म्*] अपारम्परगोबलीवद्⁶ अपुष्पक्षिर⁷ सन्दोह[म्*] अचारासनच-
21 र्मज्ञार[म्*] अलवणकिलन्नक्लेनिखनक⁸ सर्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत⁹ सनिधि¹⁰ सोप-
22 निधि¹¹ अक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त¹² अचन्द्रादित्यकालीय[]¹³ पुत्रपौत्रानुगामिक¹⁴ भुञ्जता(तो)
23 न केनचिद्व्याघात[४क]र्तव्य सर्वकृ(त्रि)याभिस्स(स्स)रक्षितव्यपरिवद्वयितव्यश्च । यश्च-
(श्चा)स्मच्छा-
24 सनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधान्कुर्यात्कारयिर वा¹⁵ अस्य ब्राह्मणैर्वेदितस्य

Thurd Plate Second side

- 25 सदण्डनिग्रह(ह) कुर्यामि॥ अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्मादिरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्तासञ्चिन्त्यन¹⁶ परिपा-
26 लन(न)कृतपुन्या(ण्या)नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थ(र्थ) न कीर्त्तयाम [।*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणी-
27 कर्त्तव्यौ । स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तावा¹⁷ हरेद्वा¹⁸ वै वसुन्धरा[म्*] गवा(वा) शतसहस्रस्य ।¹⁹ हन्तुर्ह-
28 रति दुष्कृत[म्*] ॥ [।*] षष्टि²⁰ वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद[] । आच्छेत्ता चा-
29 नुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत्²¹ [॥२॥] सवत्सरे एकादशमे²² १० १ कार्तिकशुक्लपक्ष-
30 त्रयोदश्या²³ १० ३ सेन(ना)पतौ चित्रवर्मा(र्म)णि ना²⁴ लिखित[म्*] ।²⁵

TRANSLATION

SET A

Seen. Success! Hail! From **Nandivardhana**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarsēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛta-yuga*

¹ Read वैजयिके

² Read अपूर्वदत्त्या

³ Read -मतिस्सृष्टम् so as to agree with ग्रामद्वय in line 14 above.

⁴ Read उचिता चास्य

⁵ Read -मर्यादा वितराम-

⁶ Read अपारम्परगोबलीवद्म् In this and some expressions below, the writer has blindly copied the masculine form of the usual draft referring to the donation of one village (ग्राम). Here the neuter form is required so as to agree with ग्रामद्वयम्

⁷ Read अपुष्पक्षीर-

⁸ Read -किण्वक्त्रेणिखनकम्

⁹ Read सर्ववेष्टिपरिहारपरिहृतम्

¹⁰ Read सनिधि

¹¹ Read सोपनिधि

¹² Read सकलुप्तोपकलुप्तम्

¹³ Read आचन्द्रादित्य कालीयम्

¹⁴ Read -गामिकम्

¹⁵ Read परिबाधा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा

¹⁶ Read -राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तन

¹⁷ Read परदत्ता वा

¹⁸ Read हरेद्वो

¹⁹ This mark of punctuation is superfluous.

²⁰ Read षष्टि

²¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

²² Read सवत्सरे एकादशे

²³ Read त्रयोदश्या

²⁴ Perhaps मणिना was intended, but the writer in copying the draft omitted the *aksharas* मणि by haplography.

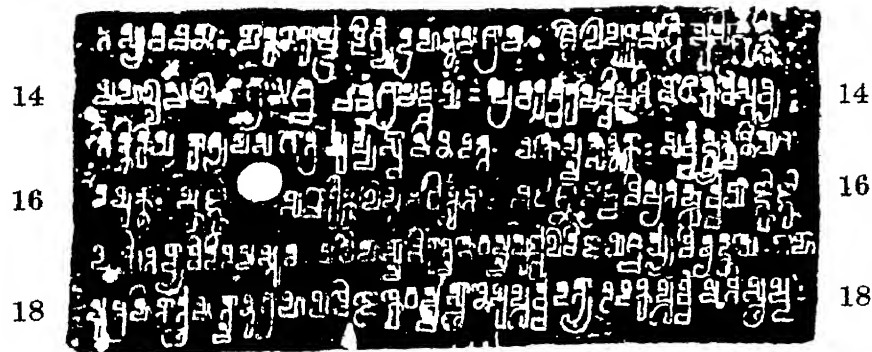
²⁵ There is an ornamental mark after this followed by two *dandas* and a horizontal stroke.

BĒLŌRĀ PLATES (SET B) OF PRAVARASĒNA II

ii,a



ii,b



iii,a



iii,b



(Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhrāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Rudrasēna II**—

(*For translation of lines 1-10, see above, pp 13-14.*)

(Line 13) The village **Mahalla-lāta** in the **Asi** *bhukti* in the *mārga* of **Śailapura** has been donated (*by Us*) to **Sūryasvāmin** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and Taittirīya (*śākhā*) who resides in the (*village*) **Pravarēśvara-shadvimsāti-vātaka**¹

Wherefore, Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, and (*Our*) Soldiers and Policemen should be directed by the (*following*) command which is already well-known (*to them*) —

“Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power, victory and prosperity, to secure Our well-being in this world and the next and to obtain blessings for Ourselves, We have given (*this village*) as a gift not previously made, with the pouring out of water, in (*Our*) victorious place of religious worship

(*The rest of the grant is not forthcoming*)

SET B

(Line 12) By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, .

(*For translation of lines 7 to 12, see above, pp 13-14*)

The two villages (*viz*) the village named **Dīrghadraha** in the **Pākkana** *rāshṭra* and the village **Mahallama-lāta** in the **Asi** *bhukti* in the *mārga* of **Śailapura**, have been donated (*by Us*) to **Sūryasvāmin** of the Kāśyapa *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*, who resides in the **Pravarēśvara-shadvimsāti-vātaka**.

(*For translation of lines 15 to 25, see above, p 14*)

(Line 26) And the following two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point —

(*Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 29) (*This charter*) was written by [**Mani**], **Chitravarman** being the *Sēnāpati*, on the **thirteenth—10** (*and*) 3—(*lunar day*) in the **bright fortnight** of **Kārttika** in the **eleventh—10** (*and*) 1—(*regnal*) **year**.

¹ This seems to be a territorial division of twenty-six villages named after a shrine in honour of Śiva under the name of Pravarēśvara, apparently built by Pravarasēna I See below, p 63

CHAMMAK PLATES PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were found in about 1868 while ploughing a field at **Chammak** (ancient Charmānka), a village about four miles south-west of Achalpur in the Amarāvātī District of Vidarbha. They were first brought to notice in 1879 by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, who published his reading of the text in Pamphlet No 9 of the Archaeological Survey of Western India, pp 54 f. They were next edited, with a translation, by Dr Buhler, first in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV, pp 116 f, and again, with facsimiles of the plates, but not of the seal, in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XII, pp 239. Finally, they were published, with facsimiles and a translation, by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, pp 235 f. The original plates, which were obtained by Major H Szczepanski, are not forthcoming now. The record is, therefore, edited here from Dr Fleet's lithographs.

'The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are seven in number, each measuring from $7\frac{3}{8}"$ to $7\frac{1}{2}"$ by from $3\frac{1}{2}"$ to $3\frac{3}{8}"$. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. A few of the letters on the first and last plates have been damaged by rust, but the rest of the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation. . Towards the top of each plate there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}"$ thick and $3\frac{5}{8}"$ in diameter. It was not soldered into the socket of a seal; but the ends of it were flattened off, as if to overlap and fasten with a pin or bolt; there is, however, no hole in them to show that they were ever actually secured in this way. The **seal** is a flat disc of copper, rising slightly towards the centre, about $\frac{1}{4}"$ thick and $2\frac{7}{8}"$ in diameter. To the centre of the back of it there is soldered a small ring, by which it slides on the larger ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal there is the legend in four lines. . The weight of the seven plates is about 6 lbs 14 oz. and of the two rings and the seal, about $14\frac{1}{2}$ oz, total, 7 lbs $12\frac{1}{2}$ oz ¹. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, but except in lines 58 and 59, the boxes at the top of the letters are scooped out hollow. They include the **numerical symbols** for 8 and 10 in line 60, and for 8000 in line 19. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in lines 13, 16 and 32. The following peculiarities of the characters may be noted.—The medial *ī* (long) is shown by two curves turned in opposite directions, see *śrī-Bhavanāga*, line 7; but in *Gautamīputrasya* in line 8, the vowel is indicated by a single curve turned to the right; the medial *au* is bipartite; see *dauhutra*-, lines 7-8, *t* is generally unlooped and *n* is looped, but in many places the two letters are confused, see *atyatna*- for *atyanta*, line 9 and *sannāna*- for *santāna*- in line 12. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the legend on the seal and two benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 36-39, the whole record is in verse. As regards **orthography**, we may note the reduplication of a consonant before and after *r* as in *kkrama*-, in line 2 on the seal and *saty-ārjjava*- in line 9, that of the consonant preceding *y* is *Bhāgīratthy*-, line 6 and of *v* after an *anusvāra* in *samvatsarē*, line 60.

Like other complete grants of the Vākātakas, the present record opens with the word *dr̥ṣṭam* 'seen'. The plates were issued by *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II* of the **Vākātaka dynasty** from **Pravarapura**. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the preceding two grants, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta**. The **object** of the inscription is to record the

¹ CII, Vol III, pp 235-36

grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Charmānka** situated on the bank of the **Madhunadī** in the *rāṇya* (division) of **Bhōjakata** which consisted of 8000 *nvarianas* by the royal measure. The **donees** were a thousand Brāhmanas¹. The grant was made at the request of **Kōndarāja**, the son of **Śatrughnarāja**. This Kōndarāja is also mentioned in line 45 of the Pattan plates. The grant is dated on the **thirteenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Jyēstha** in the **18th regnal year**. The *Sēnāpati* was **Chitravarman**. From the Belōrā plates, Set B, we know that Chitravarman was holding the same post seven years earlier in the 11th regnal year of Pravarasēna II.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Pravarapura**, which finds a mention here for the first time, was evidently the later capital of Pravarasēna II. His earlier capital was Nandivardhana from which his two earlier grants were issued. Pravarapura was evidently founded by Pravarasēna II and named after himself. He appears to have shifted his seat of government there some time after his eleventh regnal year. The exact location of Pravarapura was long uncertain, but the recent discovery of several sculptures of the Gupta-Vākāṭaka period at Pavnāi, 6 miles from Wardhā, has rendered it probable that the village marks the site of ancient Pravarapura. **Charmānka** is, of course, Chammak where the plates were discovered. The **Madhunadī** on the bank of which it was situated is now called Chandrabhāgā. **Bhōjakata**, the headquarters of the division (*rāṇya*) in which Charmānka was included, is an ancient city. It was founded by Rukmin, the brother-in-law of Krishna. When the latter abducted his sister Rukminī, he vowed that he would not return to Kundinapura, the capital of Vidarbha, unless he killed Krishna and rescued his sister. As he did not succeed in this, he refused to return to Kundinapura, but founded a new city named Bhōjakata where he fixed his residence². Bhōjakata is usually identified with Bhātkulī, a village about 8 miles from Amarāvātī where there is still a temple of Rukmin. Some images of Jain Tīrthankaras were also discovered there several years ago.

TEXT³

First Plate

- 1 दृष्ट (ष्टम्) [॥*] स्वस्ति [॥*] प्रवरपुरादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यातिरात्र⁴-
- 2 वाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन
- 3 विष्णुवृद्ध⁵सगोत्रस्य सम्रा[ड्]⁶ वाकाटकाना महाराज[श्चि](श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य
- 4 सूनो सूनो अत्यन्त[स्वा]मिमहाभैरवभवतस्य अ(अ)सभारसन्ति(न्नि)वेशि-
- 5 तशिवलि[ङ्गो]द्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादि[त]राजव(व)शा-

¹ Though the Brāhmana donees are said to have numbered a thousand, only 49 are actually mentioned at the end of the record. Perhaps they represented others or were the heads of the families. It is also not unlikely that the word *sahasra* is used indefinitely in the sense of a large number. Cf. *varsha-sahasra-go-brāhmana* in line 15 of the Junāgadh rock inscription of Rudradāman, *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 44, and *vasa-sata-sahasāya* in the Prakrit grant of Sivaskandavarman, *ibid*, Vol I, p 7.

² Cf. अनानीय स्वसार तु रुक्मी मानमदान्वित ।
हीनप्रतिज्ञो नैच्छत्स प्रवेष्टु कुण्डिन पुरम् ॥
विदर्भेषु निवासार्थं निर्ममेज्यत्पुर महत् ।

तद्भोजकटमित्येव बभूव भुवि विश्रुतम् ॥ *Harvamsa*, II, 60, 31-32

³ From the plates facing pp 240-41 in Fleet's *CII*, Vol III

⁴ Read षोडश्यातिरात्र-

⁵ Read विष्णुवृद्ध-

⁶ Read सम्राजो

Second Plate: First side

- 6 नाम्पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्या (तथ्य) मलजलमूर्द्धर्ना (द्धा) भिषिक्तानान्दशा-
 7 श्वमेधावभूथस्तातानाम्भारशिवाना महाराजश्रीभवनागदौ-
 8 हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रीरुद्रसे-
 9 नस्य सूनोरत्यन्त (न्त) माहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्ज्वकारुण्यशौर्य्यविक्रमन-
 10 यविनयमाहात्म्या (त्म्य) धि (धी) मत्व (त्व) ¹हा (पा) त्रा (त्र) गतभक्ती (क्ति) त्वधर्मवी (वि)-
 जयी (यि) त्व-

Second Plate: Second side

- 11 मनोनैर्म्मा (र्म) ल्यादिगुणैस्समुपेतस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोश-
 12 दण्डसाधनसन्ना (न्ता) नपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिरवृत्ने (त्ते) र्व्वाकाटका-
 13 ना महाराजश्रीपृथिविषेणस्य सूनोर्भगवतश्चक्रपाणेप्रसा-
 14 दोपार्जित²श्रीसमुदयस्य वाकाटकाना महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-
 15 [स्य³] सूनोर्म्महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया प्रभाव-

Thurd Plate: First side

- 16 तिगुप्तायामुत्पन्त (न्) स्य शम्भोप्रसादधृति (त) कार्त्तयुगस्य-
 17 वाकाटकानाम्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त्*]
 18 भोजकटराज्ये मधुनदीतटे चर्म्मार्द्ध³नामग्र (ग्रा) म राजमानिकभु (भू) मि-
 19 सहस्रैरष्टाभि ८००० शत्र (त्रु) धनराजपुत्रकोण्डराजविज्ञा (ज्ञ) प्त्या नानागो-
 20 वचरणेभ्यो ब्राम्हणेभ्य सहस्राय दत्त [।*]

Thurd Plate: Second side

- 21 यतोस्मत्सन्तका [*] सर्वाद्धिचक्षाधियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्च (चा) रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता
 22 भटाच्छा (श्छा) त्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्वयाज्ञयाज्ञापयितव्या विदितमस्तु वो यथे-
 23 हास्माकम्मनो⁴ धर्म्मार्द्धबलविजयैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्रहिता-
 24 र्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजै (जयि) के धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्ता (त्या) उदकपूर्व-
 25 मतिसृष्ट [।*] अथास्योचिता पूर्वराजानुमता चातुर्वैद्यग्रामम-
 26 र्यादान्वितराम⁵स्तद्यथा अकरदायी⁶ अभटच्छ (च्छा) त्रप्रावेश्य [*]

Fourth Plate First side

- 27 अपारम्परगोबलिवर्द्ध [*] अपुम्प (प्प) क्षीरसन्दोह [*] अच (चा) रा-
 28 सनचर्म्मार्द्धार [*] अलवणकिलन्नक्केणिखनक [*] सर्व्ववेष्टिपरि⁷-
 29 हारपरीहृत⁸ त⁸ सनिधिसोपनिधि सकिलप्तोपकिलप्त⁹
 30 आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय पुत्रपौत्र (त्रा) नुगमक भुज (भुञ्ज) ता न के-
 31 नचिद्व्याघात (त) कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्वक्रियाभिस्स (स्स) रक्षितव्यपर (रि) वर्द्धयि-
 32 तव (व्य) श्च [।*] यश्चाय¹⁰ शासनमगणयमानो (न) स्वल्प (ल्पा) मपि [प*] रिबाधां¹¹ -

¹ Fleet proposed to read माहात्म्याधिकत्व, but it gives no good sense The Pattan plates (No. 13) give धीमत्त्व in line 11

² The engraver first incised जिज, which he later corrected into जिज्ज

³ The engraver first incised द्द्धा and later corrected it into द्द्ध

⁴ Read यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो

⁵ Read -मर्यादा वितराम-

⁶ The engraver first incised दायै and later corrected it into दायी

⁷ Read -विष्टि-

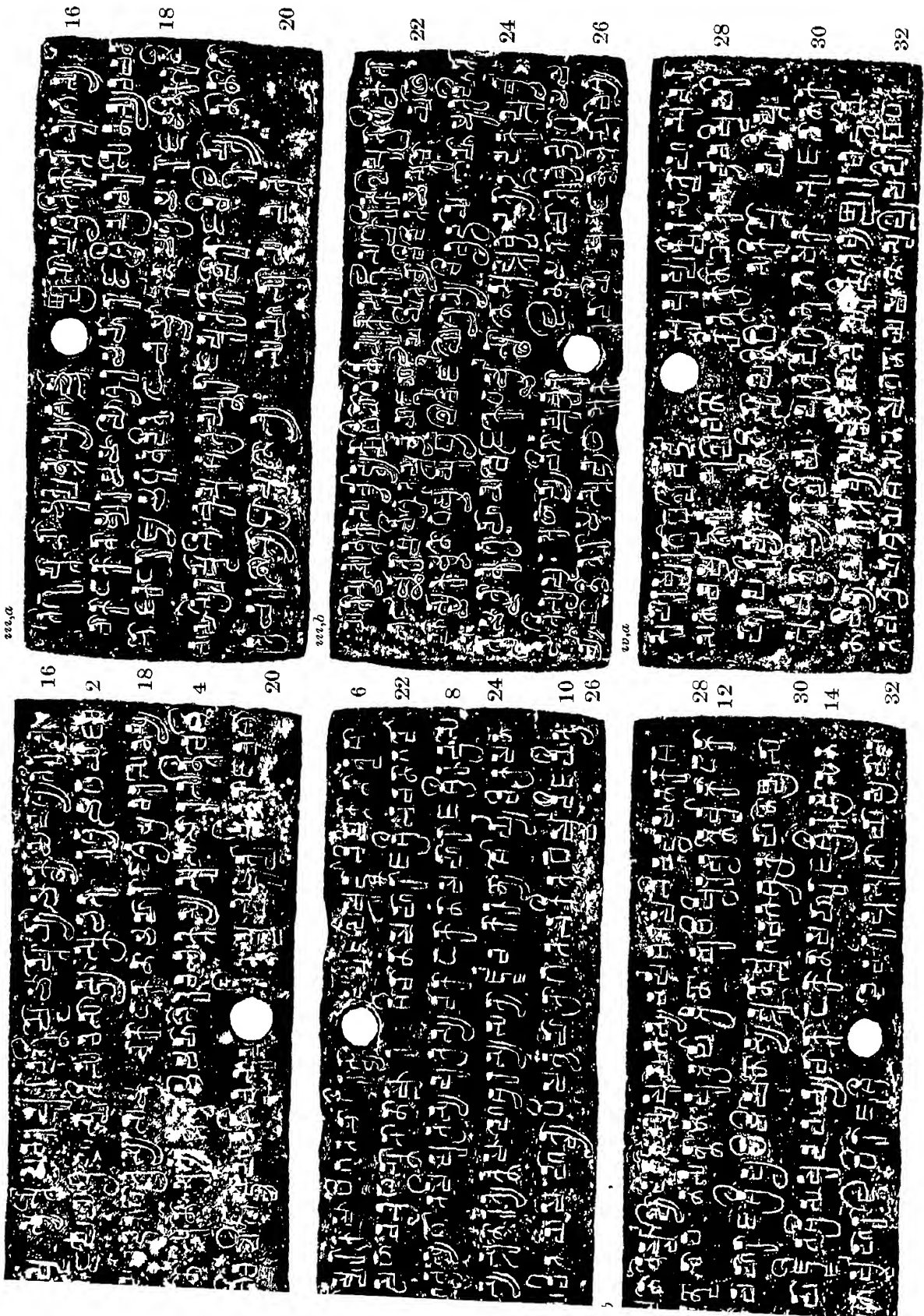
⁸ Read -परिहृत

⁹ Read सकलप्तोपकलुप्त

¹⁰ Read यश्चैद or यश्चास्मच्छासन as in the Pattan plates (No 13), line 35

¹¹ After this word, कुय्या- was incised and then cancelled.

CHAMMAK PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II



22 b

34

36

பி,அ

38
 40
 42

 u, b

44
46

32,000

48
 34
 50
 36
 52

v_2, b

७२.७

222

023

Fourth Plate Second side

- 33 न्कु(कु) र्यात्कारयिता वा¹ तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सव(द)ण्डनिग्रह कुर्या-
 34 म ॥ अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्म्माव(द)रकरणे अति(ती)तानेकराजदत्त(त्त)सञ्चित्त(न्त)न-
 35 परिपालनं कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम [1*]
 36 व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमानि²(णी)कर्त्तव्यौ [1*] स्वदत्ता(त्ता)म्परदत्ता(त्ता)
 37 व्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा(राम्) । गवा शतसहस्रस्य हत्तु(न्तु)-

Fifth Plate First side

- 38 हंरति दुष्कृत(तम्)³ [11१॥*] षष्टि वर्षसहस्रानि(णि) स्वर्गो मोदति भू-
 39 मिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च⁴ तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [11२॥*] शशा(शा)सन-
 40 स्थितिश्चेय ब्राह्मणैरीश्वरैश्चानुपालनीया [1*] तद्यथा राज्ञा स-
 41 प्ताङ्गे राज्ये अद्रोहप्रवृत्ता(त्ता)ना [अ*] ब्रह्मघ्नचौरा(र)पारदारिकराजा-
 42 पत्थ्यकारिप्रभृति(ती)ना सग्र(ग्रा)म[म*]कुर्व्वता अन्यग्राम(मे)ष्वन-॥⁵

Fifth Plate Second side

- 43 पर(रा)द्धाना आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय [1*] अतोऽन्यथा कुर्व्वतामनुमोदता वा⁶
 44 राज्ञ भूमिच्छेद कुर्व्वन्त (त) अस्तेयमिति [1*] प्रा(प्र)ति[ग्रा]हिणश्चात्र
 45 वारनियुक्ता(क्ता) [1*] शाट्चायन गणार्य्य वात्स्यदेवार्य्य भारद्वाज-
 46 कुमारशर्मार्य्य[*] पाराशर्य्यगुहशर्मा काश्यपदेव(वा)र्य्य महेश्वरार्य्य[*]⁸
 47 मात्रार्य्य कौण्डिन्य(न्य)रुद्रार्य्य[*] सोमार्य्य[*] हरिशर्मार्य्य[*]

Sixth Plate First side

- 48 भारद्वाजकुमारश[र्मा]र्य्य[*] कौण्डिन्य(न्य)मा[तृ]शर्मा वरशर्मा
 49 गोण्डशर्मा नागशर्मा भारद्वा[ज*]शान्तिशर्मा रुद्रशर्मा वात्स्य
 50 भोजकद(दे)वार्य्य[*] मघशर्मा देवशर्मा भारद्वाजमोक्षशर्मा
 51 [ना]गशर्मा रेवतिशर्मा धर्मार्य्य[*] भारद्वाजशर्मार्य्य[*]
 52 नन्दनार्य्य[*] मूलशर्मा ईश्वरशर्मा वरशर्मा

Sixth Plate Second side

- 53 वात्स्य⁹स्कन्दार्य्य[*] भारद्वाजबप्पार्य्य[*] धर्मार्य्य[*] आत्रेयस्कन्दार्य्य[1*]
 54 गौतमसोमशर्मार्य्य[*] भतृ(तृ)शर्मा रुद्रश[र्मा]र्य्य[*] मघार्य्य[*] मातृ-
 55 शर्मार्य्य[*] ईश्वरशर्मार्य्य[*] गौतमसगोत्रमातृशर्मा-
 56 र्य्य[*] कौण्डिन्य(न्य)देवशर्मार्य्य[*] वरशर्मार्य्य[*] रोहार्य्य[*]

Seventh Plate

- 57 गौतमसगोत्रस्वामिदे[वा*]र्य्य[*] रेवतिशर्मार्य्य[*]
 58 ज्येष्ठशर्मार्य्य[*] शाण्डिल्यकुमारशर्मार्य्य[*] स्वातिशर्मा-

¹ It would be better to read कारयेद्वा

² The sign of *upadhmāniya* before this *akshara* is cancelled.

³ Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*.

⁴ Originally च्छ, later corrected into च

⁵ This mark of punctuation is to be omitted.

⁶ Originally व्वा, later corrected into वा

⁷ Originally ग्वा, later corrected into ग्रा

⁸ This र्य्य is incised below रा of महेश्वरा-

⁹ Read वात्स्य-

- 59 र्य्य [*] श(शा) टचायनकाण्ड(ण्ड) र्य्यप्रभृतय [*] सेनापतौ
 60 चित्रवर्मणि सव्वत्सरेष्टादश(शे) १० ऽ ज्येष्ठमासशुक्ल-
 61 पक्षत्रयोदश्या(श्या) शासन लिखितमिति ॥

SEAL

- 1 वाकाटकललामस्य
 2 कक्र(क्र)मप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [*]
 3 राज्ञप्रवरसेनस्य
 4 शासन रिपुशासन(नम्)¹ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Seen Hail! From **Pravarapura**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna** (II), the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas** who is a fervent devotee of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛta-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā** the daughter of the *Mahārājādhuṛāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, and who is the son of the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Rudrasēna** (II)—

(For translation of lines 1 to 14, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 18) The village named **Charmāṅka** (*consisting of*) eight thousand—8000-(*nvan tanas*) of land, according to the royal measure, (*situated*) on the bank of the (*river*) **Madhunad** in the *ājya* of **Bhōjakata**, has, at the request of **Kōndarāja**, the son of **Śatrughnarāja** been given to a thousand Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and *charanas*.

(For translation of lines 21 to 35, see above, pp 14-15)

(Line 36) The (*following*) two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point.—

(Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(Line 39). And this condition of the charter should be maintained by the Brāhmanas and (*future*) kings —(*This grant shall be enjoyed by the Brāhmanas*) as long as the sun and the moon will endure, provided that they commit no treason against the kingdom consisting of seven constituents² of the (*future*) kings, that they are not found guilty of the murder of Brāhmana, theft, adultery and high treason, etc., that they do not wage war; (*and*) that they do no harm to other villages But if they act otherwise or assent to such acts, the king will commit no theft if he takes the land away (*from them*)

(Line 44) And the recipients (*of the grant*) appointed for the occasion in this respect are (*as follows*) —

Ganārya of the Śātyāyana (*gōtra*), Dēvārya of the Vātsya (*gōtra*), Kumāraśarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), Guhaśarman of the Pārāśarya (*gōtra*), Dēvārya of the Kāśyapa (*gōtra*), (*and*) Mahēśvarārya (*and*) Mātrārya³, Rudrārya of the Kaundinya (*gōtra*); Somārya (*and*) Hariśarmārya, Kumāraśarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), Matriśarman of the Kaundinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varaśarman, Gōndaśarman (*and*) Nāgaśarman, Śāntiśarman of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), (*and*) Rudraśarman, Bhōjakadēvārya of the Vātsya (*gōtra*), (*and*) Maghaśarman (*and*) Dēvaśarman, Mōkshaśarman of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*), (*and*) Nāgaśarman, Rēvatiśarman

¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

² These are the king, his ministers, ally, territory, treasure, fortress and army

³ These two also probably belonged to the same *gōtra* Kāśyapa So also in the following, where no *gōtra* is mentioned, that named before is to be understood

(*and*) Dharmārya; Śarmārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Nandanārya, Mūlaśarman, Īśvaraśarman (*and*) Varaśarman; Skandārya of the Vātsya (*gōtra*); Bappārya of the Bhāradvāja (*gōtra*); (*and*) Dharmārya; Skandārya of the Ātrēya (*gōtra*); Somaśarmārya of the Gautama (*gōtra*); (*and*) Bharṭṛiśarman; Rudraśarmārya, Maghārya, Māṭṛiśarmārya (*and*) Īśvaraśarmārya; Māṭṛiśarmārya of the Gautama (*gōtra*); Dēvaśarmārya of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Varaśarmārya (*and*) Rōhārya; Svāmidēvārya of the Gautama (*gōtra*); (*and*) Rēvatiśarmārya (*and*) Jyēshṭhaśarmārya; Kumāraśarmārya of the Śāṇḍilya (*gōtra*); (*and*) Svātiśarmārya; (*and*) Kāṇḍārya of the Śāṭyāyana (*gōtra*) and others.

(Line 59). (*This*) charter has been written, **Chitravarman** being the *Sēnāpati*, on the **thirteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright fortnight** of the month **Jyēshṭha** in the **eighteenth-
10 (and) 8**—(*regnal*) **year**.

SEAL

(*This is*) the enemy-chastising command of the king **Pravarasēna** (II), the ornament of the **Vākātakas**, who has attained royal fortune by inheritance.

SIWANĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were found in the possession of a Malguzar named Hazarī Gond living at the village of Pindarai in the **Siwanī** *tahsil* of the Chhindwādā District of Madhya Pradesh.

They were brought to notice in 1836, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol V, pp 726 f, where Mr James Prinsep published his transcript of the text and a translation of it, accompanied by a lithograph of the plates. They were next edited by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp 243 f together with a translation and lithographs of the plates. They are edited here from the same lithographs.

‘The **plates**, of which the first and last are inscribed on one side only, are five in number, each measuring about $8\frac{3}{16}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. They are quite smooth, the edges of them having been neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims. The inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. . . The engraving is very good. Towards the proper right end of each plate, there is a hole for a ring to connect them. The ring is circular, about $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick and $3\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. The ends of it were flattened off, so as to overlap, and were fastened with a pin or bolt. The **seal** is a thin flat disc of copper, about $3\frac{1}{16}$ " in diameter. A bolt in the centre of it secured it to a thin band of copper, about $\frac{5}{8}$ " broad and $3\frac{1}{4}$ " in circumference, by which it slides on the ring mentioned above. Across the surface of the seal there is a legend in four lines. The weight of the five plates is about 3 lbs $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz, and of the ring and seal, $5\frac{1}{4}$ oz; total 3 lbs $9\frac{1}{2}$ oz. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ", except on the seal and the last plate where they are larger.¹ The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the Jāmb plates. The only peculiarities that may be noted are as follows—*kh* has a rectangle at the bottom, see *-khanakah*, line 29, *d* is not distinguished clearly from *ḍ*, see *danda*, line 11, *n* shows the same form as in modern Nāgarī, see *-yājñah*, line 2, *b* has two forms (i) the square one as in *Bēnnā-*, line 17 and (ii) that with a notch in the left limb as in *Bṛhaspati-*, line 1, a final consonant is indicated by its short form and in some cases by means of a short horizontal stroke at the top, see *dr̥shtam*, line 1 and *rāja-vanśānām* line 5. The sign of the *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 3 of the legend. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for the legend and two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end the inscription is in verse throughout. As regards **orthography**, we may note (i) the reduplication of the consonant following *r* as in *-Āptōryyām-*, line 1 and that of the consonant preceding *y* and *v* as in *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 5 and *addhvaryyavē*, lines 19-20, (ii) the use of *n* for *anusvāra* before *ś* and *s* as in *vanśa-*, line 5 and 17 and *ansa-*, line 4, and (iii) the use of *ḷ* for the medial vowel *ḷ* in *-kḷipt-ōpakḷipta-*, in line 30.

The inscription, which opens with *dr̥shtam*, is one of *Mahārāja Pravarasēna II* of the **Vākātaka dynasty**. His genealogy is given here exactly as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta**. The **object** of the present inscription is to record the grant, by Pravarasēna II, of the village **Brahmapūraka** to the Brāhmana **Dēvaśarmāchārya** of the Maudgalya *gōtra* and Taittirīya *śākhā*. The place of issue is not named in the record, but it was probably the royal capital Pravarapura, for, the grant is said to have been made .

¹ Fleet, *CII*, Vol III, pp 243 f

the victorious place of religious worship (*varjayika-dharma-sthāna*)¹ The donated village was situated in the **Bēnnākārpara-bhōga** and lay to the north of **Vatapūraka**, to the west of **Kinihikhētaka**, to the south of **Pavarajjavātaka** and to the east of **Kōllapūraka**. The village adjoining it was named **Karañjaviraka**. The grant was made on the **12th tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Phālguna** in the **eighteenth** regnal **year** (expressed in words) of Pravarasēna II. The *Sēnāpati* at the time was **Bāppadēva**. The charter was written by **Āchārya**.

The **localities** mentioned in the present plates remained unidentified for a long time. Fleet suggested the identification of only one of them, *viz*, **Kōllapūraka** which he thought was possibly identical with 'the modern Kōlāpoor of the map, twenty-one miles south of Illichpur'. This is incorrect, for, the real name of the place is Khōlāpur and it was founded by Khōlēśvara, a well-known general of the great Yādava king Śinghana, who named it after himself and granted it as an *agrāhāra* to Brāhmanas². Again, none of the other villages can be identified in the vicinity of Khōlāpur. While editing the Pātnā Museum plate of Pravarasēna II, Dr. Altekar suggested that **Brahmapūraka** named in it to define the boundary of the donated village Śrīparnakā was identical with the village of the same name granted by the present plates. He identified it with Brāhmanwādā near Achalapur³. This identification also is open to the same objection, for, none of the other villages can be identified in the vicinity of Brāhmanwādā. The statement in the present grant that **Brahmapūraka** was situated in **Bēnnākārpara-bhōga** is important. Like Bēnnākata of the Tīrōdī plates⁴, this *bhōga* also must have derived its name from the river Bēnnā, modern Waingangā⁵, and must have included the territory in the vicinity of that river. With this clue I could identify most of the villages mentioned in the present grant. **Kārañjā**, about 6 miles from Āmgaon, a railway station on the Calcutta-Nagpur line of the South-Eastern Railway, is probably the ancient **Karañjaviraka**. **Brahmapūraka**, the donated village, is Bāhmnī, about three miles from Kārañjā. **Kōllapūraka** of the plates is now represented by Kulpā near Kārañjā, about 5 miles to the west of Bāhmnī. **Pavarajjavātaka** and **Vatapūraka** may be the modern Paraswādā and Badgaon near Bāhmnī⁶. These places lie within 20 to 30 miles from the eastern bank of the Waingangā and were in all probability included in the Bēnnākārpara-bhōga mentioned in the present plates.⁷

TIXI⁸

First Plate

1 दृष्टम् ॥ सिद्धम्[¹] अग्निष्टोमास्तोर्यामोक्त्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजये (पे) यबृहस्पतिसव-

¹ This expression generally occurs in the grants made at the royal capital.

² Cf. खोल्लपुराभिध चक्रं योप्रहारमनुत्तमम् । तीरे पयोण्या विपुलं तथान्यद्वास्तिनापुरम् ॥ G. H. Khare, *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, p. 64.

³ *J B O R S*, Vol. XIV, p. 472.

⁴ See No. 11, line 13.

⁵ This river is called Vēnā in the *Mahābhārata* (Sabhāparvan, Adhyāya 31, v. 12), *Padmapurāṇa* (svargakhaṇḍa, adhyāya, 30, vv. 30-32, and adhyāya 114, vv. 27-28). The *Mārkaṇḍēyapurāṇa* and the *Matsyapurāṇa* call it Vēnyā. Vēnvā in the *Vāyu* (ad. 45, v. 102) and *Kūrma* (ad. 47, v. 32) are evidently corrupt forms of the Sanskrit name Vēnyā.

⁶ Paraswādā and Badgaon do not lie to the north and south of Bāhmnī as stated in the plates, but are situated in the opposite directions. The official who drafted the present charter must have been responsible for the mistake.

⁷ The identifications of these places were first suggested by me in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. I, pp. 1 ff.

⁸ From the facsimiles facing pages 248 and 249 in Fleet's *CII*, Vol. III.

- 2 साद्यस्क्र[च]नुरस्वमेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्प्राट्¹ वाकाटकाना-
 3 म्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहा-
 4 भैरवभक्तस्य अन्स²भारसन्निव(वै)शितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्ट-
 5 समुत्पादितराजवन्शा(वशा)नाम् पराक्रमाधिगतभागीरथ्या(त्थ्य)मलजलमूर्द्धाभि-

Second Plate First side

- 6 पिक्तानाम् दशाश्वमेधावभूथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवना-
 7 गदौहित्रस्य गौतमि(मी)पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य ।³ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री-
 8 रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य । सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौ-
 9 र्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि(धी)मत्व(त्व)पात्रगत⁴भक्तित्वधर्मविजयि-
 10 त्वमनोनैर्मर्त्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य । वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोश-
 11 दण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराज-

Second Plate Second side

- 12 श्रीपृथिवि(वी)षेणस्य सूनो[*] भगवतश्चक्रपाणे प्रसादोपाज्जित-
 13 श्रीसमुदयस्य । वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो
 14 पूर्वराजानुवृत्तमार्गानुसारिण सुनयबलपराक्रमो-
 15 च्छिन्नसर्वद्विष महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुतायाम्प्रभावति(ती)-
 16 गुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भो[*] प्रसादधृति(त)कार्त्युगस्य (स्य) वाकाटक-

Third Plate First side

- 17 वन्शालङ्कार⁵भूतस्य । महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचनात् बेण्णा-
 18 कार्पूरभा(भो)गे प्रवर्द्धमानराज्यसंवत्सरे⁶ । अष्टादशमे⁷ । फाल्गु-
 19 नशुक्लद्वादश्याम् मौद्गल्यसगोत्राय । तैत्तिरि(री)यायाद्ध्वर्य-
 20 वे देवशर्माचार्य्यायोदकपूर्वम् सकोरट सपञ्चाशत्क
 21 ब्रह्मपूरकन्नाम ग्रामोतिसृष्ट [1*] वटपूरकस्योत्तरेण । किणिहिखे-
 22 टकस्यापरेण । श्वरज्जवाटकस्य दक्षिणेन । कोल्लपूरकस्य

Third Plate Second side

- 23 पूर्व्वेण । स्वसीमापर(रि)च्छ(च्छे)देन करज्जविरकतटे । अत्रास्मत्सन्तका
 24 सर्वाध्यक्षन(नि)योगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा⁸
 25 रञ्जात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वया आज्ञया आज्ञापयितव्या [1*] विदित-
 26 मस्तु त(व) यथैषोस्माभि आत्मनो धर्मायुर्बलविजयैश्वर्य्यवि⁹वृध(द्ध)ये
 27 इह(हा)मुत्रहितार्थमात्वा(मा)नुग्रहाय । वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने¹⁰ अभट-

Fourth Plate First side

- 28 च्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य अपारम्परगोबलिवर्द्ध अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[*] अचा-

¹ Read मन्त्राजो

² Read अम-

³ This and similar marks of punctuation in lines 7-31 are unnecessary.

⁴ It is not necessary to correct this into पात्रगत as proposed by Fleet.

⁵ Read वशालङ्कार-

⁶ Read संवत्सरे

⁷ Read अष्टादशे

⁸ Read भटा-

⁹ वि, which was engraved at first, was later changed to वि.

¹⁰ Supply अतिसृष्ट

SIWANI PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

12 2 14 4 16
[Sanskrit inscription on Plate I, left column]

12 14 16
[Sanskrit inscription on Plate I, right column]

6 18 8 20 10 22
[Sanskrit inscription on Plate II, left column]

18 20 22
[Sanskrit inscription on Plate II, right column]

- 29 रासनचर्म्मार्ङ्गार अलवण¹किलव(न्न)क्रेणिखनक सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहार-
 30 परिहृत सनिधि सोपनिधि सक्लिप्तोपक्लिप्त² आचन्द्रादित्य-
 31 कालि(ली)य पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी । भुज्यमानो न केनचिद्व्याघातयि-
 32 तव्य सर्व्वक्रियाभि सरक्षितव्य परिवर्द्धयितव्या(व्य)श्च[1*] यश्चास्म-
 33 च्छासनमगणयमान स्वल्पामपि परिबाधान्कुर्यात्कारयीत³ वा

Fourth Plate Second side

- 34 तस्य ब्राह्मणैरावेदितस्य । सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्यामि कारयेम वेति [1*]
 35 सेनापतौ बाप्पदेवे लिखितमाचार्य्येण ॥ अस्मि(स्मि)श्च ध[र्म्मार्ङ्ग]धिकर-
 36 णे⁴ अति(ती)तानेकराजदत्तास्सचिन्तनपरिपालन⁵ कृतपु⁶-
 37 ण्यानुकीर्त्तयाम [1*] एष्यन्तत्कालप्रभविष्णून्⁷ गौरवाद्भविष्यान्वि-
 38 ज्ञापयाम ॥ व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ ॥

Fifth Plate

- 39 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमत्ता(न्ता)
 40 च तान्येव नरके वसेत(त्)⁸ [11*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताव्वा⁹ यो हरे-
 41 त वसुन्धराम(म्) [1*] गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतमिति ॥ (दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति ।)

SEAL

- 1 वाकाटकललामस्य
 2 क्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [1*]
 3 राज्ञप्रवरसेनस्य
 4 शासन(न) रिपुशासनम्¹⁰ [11*]

TRANSLATION

Seen By the order of the *Mahānāja*, the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, who is an ornament of the **Vākātaka** family, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛta-yuga* (on the earth), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahānājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**; who has exterminated all his enemies by his excellent policy, strength and valour, who follows the path adopted by former kings (and) who is the son of **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahānāja* of the **Vākātakas**:—

(For translation of lines 1 to 13, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 17) The village named **Brahmapūraka**, together with *kōraṭa*¹¹ and the right to levy a tax equal to one-fiftieth¹² (of the sale-price), situated in the *bhōga* of **Benṇākārpara**, has been given, with the pouring out of water, to the *Adhvaryu*, *Āchārya* **Dēvaśarman** of the

¹At first लि, later corrected into ल

²Read सक्लृप्तोपक्लृप्त

³Read परिबाधाङ्कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा

⁴Other cognate plates have generally धर्म्मार्ङ्गदरकरणे

⁵Read राजदत्तसचिन्तनपरिपालन

⁶Read कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम

⁷Read एष्यत्कालप्रभविष्णूना

⁸Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*.

⁹Read -दत्ता वा

¹⁰Metre *Anushtubh*

¹¹The meaning of *kōraṭa* is not certain.

¹²For this tax, see *MSM*, ch. VII, 130 v.

Maudgalya *gōṭha* and the Taṭṭirīya *śākhā*, on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) in the **bright** (*fortnight*) of the **eighteenth** (*regnal*) **year**.

(*This village lies*), according to the specification of its boundaries, adjoining (*the village*) **Karañjaviraka**, to the north of **Vaṭapūraka**, to the west of **Kiṇihikhēṭaka**, to the south of **Ṣavarajjavāṭaka** (*and*) to the east of **Kollapūraka**.

(*For translation of lines 23 to 34, see above, p 14.*)

(Line 35) (*This charter*) has been written by **Āchārya**, while **Bāppadēva** is the *Sēnāpati*.

And in this matter of religion We, in order to avoid mention of the meritorious deeds already done, do not refer to (*Ow*) care and protection of the grants of many past kings. (*And*) We make this request to future rulers out of reverence for them.

(Line 38). The (*following*) verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:—

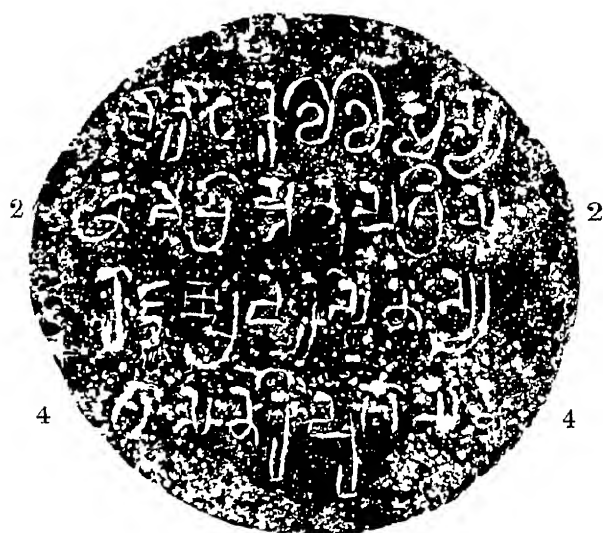
(*Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

SEAL

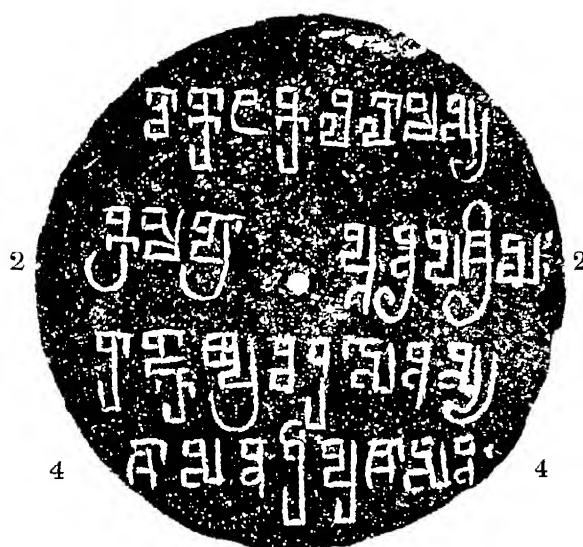
(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p 27*)

SEALS OF PRAVARASĒNA II

Seal of the Chammak Plates



Seal of the Siwani Plates



Seal of the Tirodī Plates



(from photographs)

RIDDHAPUR PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGUPTĀ

THESE plates were found in the possession of *Mahanta* Dattarāja of the Mahānubhāva sect. They were discovered at Riddhapur in the Mōrsī *tahsil* of the Amarāvati District in Vidarbha. They have been edited twice by Mr. Y. R. Gupte, first in Marathī in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandal Quarterly*, Vol. III, Nos. 2-4, pp. 89 f, and again, with negative facsimiles and an English translation, in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, Vol. XX, pp. 53 f. The plates are now deposited in the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśodhaka Mandal, Poona. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, measuring $5\frac{3}{4}$ " long, $3\frac{3}{4}$ " broad and $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two, on both the sides. There are thirty-two lines of writing in all, of which five are inscribed on the first, and three on the fourth plate. The remaining plates have six lines on each side. The letters on the first and fourth plates and those in the first two lines on the first side of the second plate are larger and thicker than those in the other lines. The letters are well cut and the record is in a good state of preservation. Each plate has a round hole $\frac{6}{16}$ " in diameter for the ring which must have held the plates together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried is now forthcoming. The weight of the four plates is 115 *tōlās*.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets resembling those of the Jāmb and other plates of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities that need be stated here are as follows—The length of the medial *ī* (long) is indicated by a double curve or by a dot in a circle, see *śrī-Ghaṭōtkacha-*, line 2 and *-mahishī*, line 9; the rare initial *ai* occurs in *aihk-*, line 13, medial *au* is bipartite as in *-dauhitrō*, line 3, *kh* has a loop at the bottom in *-khanaka*, line 19, but not in *līkhitam*, line 31, *g* and *ś* have curves turned inside at the end of their left member as in *-nagarē*, line 12 and *-varsha-śata-* in line 11, *d* and *ḍ* are distinguished in *danda-*, line 24, *b* occurs with a notch on the left, as in *Kubēra-*, line 8, a final consonant is shown by its small size, but has no vertical stroke at the top, see *vasundharām*, line 28, the sign of the *jihvāmūliya* occurs in line 22 and that of the *upadhmāniya* in lines 1, 6, 22, 27 and 29. Interpunctuation is indicated by vertical strokes as in line 1 or by dots or a small horizontal stroke as in lines 16 and 32. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for a verse at the end, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note the reduplication before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, line 26 and *chāturvvidya-*, line 17, that of a consonant before *y* as in *-pād-ānuddhyātō*, line 5, and the use of *l* for the medial vowel *ī* in *klīpt-opaklīptam*, line 20.

The inscription opens with *Jitam Bhagavatā* 'Victory has been attained by the Lord', which occurs also in the Poonā plates of Prabhavātīguptā. There is, however, no word like *dṛṣtam* 'seen' which occurs in the latter grant as well as in almost all complete charters of Pravarasēna II. The characters as well as the wording of the present grant, however, leave no doubt that it is genuine.

The inscription is one of *Mahādēvī Prabhāvatīguptā*, the chief queen of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Rudrasēna II** and the mother of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Dāmōdara-sēna-Pravarasēna**. As shown below, the record is **dated** in the **19th** regnal **year** of the Vākātaka king **Pravarasēna II**, but, strange as it may appear, the introductory

portion of the grant gives the **genealogy** of the **Guptas** and not of the Vākātakas. This is also seen in the Poonā plates which were issued when Prabhāvatī was acting as Regent for her minor son *Yuvarāja* Divākaraśēna. The introduction of the Gupta genealogy in the latter grant can be explained as due to the influence of the Gupta officials sent by Chandragupta II to Vīdarbha to help his widowed daughter in the government of the Vākātaka kingdom. No such explanation will, however, avail in the present case, for Pravarasēna II was a grown up man when the present grant was made. In all his earlier grants he has given his own genealogy in the introductory portion. The use of the Gupta genealogy here must therefore be attributed to Prabhāvatī's pride in her descent from the Gupta family.

The **genealogy** of the **Guptas** is given here exactly as in Prabhāvatī's Poonā plates, the only difference being that the imperial title *Mahārājādhirāja* is here applied only to **Chandragupta II**, all his predecessors including the great Emperor **Samudragupta** being styled as *Mahārāja*. The Vākātaka kings **Rudrasēna II** and **Pravarasēna II** mentioned in the grant are also styled as *Mahārāja*. **Prabhāvatīguptā** is described as meditating on the feet of the Bhagavat. Like her father, she was a devotee of Vishnu.

The plates were issued from the **foot-prints** of 'the lord of Rāmagiri', who is evidently identical with Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Vishnu. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant, by Prabhāvatī, of a field together with a house and four huts of farmers in **Aśvatthanagara** which lay in the *māṅga* (subdivision) of **Kośika**. The **donees** are not mentioned by name, but are described as Brāhmanas, with or without sons, who were of the Parāśara *gōtra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*. The grant is dated, at the end, on the **twelfth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Kārttika** in the **nineteenth** regnal **year** of **Pravarasēna**. As Prabhāvatī was a devotee of Vishnu, she seems to have made the present grant on the occasion of the *pāṇā* (completion) of her fast on the preceding Prabodhinī Ēkādaśī. Her Poonā grant also was made on a similar occasion. The **Dūtaka** was **Dēvanandasvāmin** and the scribe **Prabhusimha**.

There is one expression in the description of Prabhāvatī which has led to much controversy. Mr Gupte, who edited the plates, read it as *s-āgra-varsha-śata-dīva-putra-pautrā* and proposed the following two renderings—(i) who has sons and grandsons, a life of full hundred years and will (in the end) live in heaven, and (ii) who has renowned sons and grandsons and who has lived a life of full hundred years¹. Mr Gupte remarked that the expression need not be taken literally and that what was intended was that Prabhāvatīguptā lived for a long time and saw illustrious sons and grandsons. It has since been shown² that the correct reading is *-jīva-putra-pautrā*, not *-dīva-putra-pautrā*. Dr R. C. Majumdar took the expression literally and understood it as meaning that Prabhāvatī lived for more than a hundred years and had sons and grandsons³. On this interpretation he based his theory of Vākātaka chronology. It does not, however, appear to be correct. In the expression cited above, *jīva-putra-pautrā* means 'having living sons and grandsons'. Similar expression *jīva-sutā* or *jīva-putrā* occur in the *R̥gveda*, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyana* as well as in some old inscriptions⁴. To have living sons and grandsons is regarded as a sign of good

¹ *JASB*, N.S., Vol. XX, pp. 56 and 60.

² This was first pointed out by Prof. Jagan Nath in *PIHC*, IV, p. 59.

³ *JRASB*, Vol. XII, pp. 1 f.

⁴ Cf. (i) वय जीवा जीवपुत्रा अनागत । *R̥gveda* X, 36, 9
(ii) जानासि मे जीवपुत्रे भाव नित्यमविग्रहे ।
क्रोधनो न च गृह्णीते वचन मे सुयोधन ॥ *MBH*, V, 144, 2
(iii) जीवपुत्रे निवर्तस्व पुत्र रक्षस्व चाङ्गदम् ।
अन्तको रामरूपेण हत्वा नयति वालिनम् ॥ *Rāmāyana* IV, 19, 11.
(iv) जीवसुताय राजमातुय वचनेन । Nāsik cave inscription, *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p. 73

fortune and is therefore often mentioned in the description of women. The preceding expression *s-āgṛa-varsha-śata* indicating long life must evidently be connected with *jīva*. The expression, therefore refers to the long life of the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatī and not to her own. Besides, to a widow like Prabhāvatīguptā a long life of a hundred years is most distasteful. No Indian widow is likely to boast of it in her own record. The long life mentioned in the expression must therefore be taken to refer to that of the sons and grandsons of Prabhāvatī. The expression cannot, of course, be taken literally, but must be interpreted like the epithets *dīrghāyuh* or *āyushmat* applied to small children. The intention in such cases is to express the wish that they would be long-lived. The expression therefore means 'who has sons and grandsons who (it is hoped) will live for a full hundred years'.

Prabhāvatīguptā is again described in line 10 as the mother of the Vākātaka *Mahā āja*, the illustrious **Dāmōdaraśēna-Pravarasēna**. This expression also has been interpreted differently by different scholars. Dr. Mujumdar says that Dāmōdaraśēna and Pravarasēna were two different sons of Prabhāvatī. We must note, however, that the expression uses the phrase *Vākātakānām Mahā ājah* in connection with the name of Dāmōdaraśēna, but not with that of Pravarasēna II. When we remember how particular the drafters of Vākātaka grants were about the use of this title in connection with the name of every Vākātaka king who actually reigned¹, it looks strange that the title should not have been prefixed to the name of Pravarasēna II, who was ruling at the time. Again, if the intention was to name all sons of Prabhāvatī, the name of Dīvākarasēna also should have been added. It seems probable therefore, that Dāmōdaraśēna and Pravarasēna II were identical and that the latter name was adopted by the prince at the time of his accession.

As for the **place-names** mentioned in the present grant, **Rāmagiri** is undoubtedly modern Rāmtēk, about 28 miles north of Nāgpur. It lies only about 3 miles from Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan, the earlier capital of the Vākātakas. In Kālidāsa's *Mēghadūta*, Rāmagiri is mentioned as the place where the *yaksha*, exiled from Alakā, lived for a year. From the description in Kālidāsa's poem we learn that the hill was marked by the venerable foot-prints of Raghupati (Rāmachandīa)², and it is noteworthy that the present grant was made by Prabhāvatīguptā near the foot-prints of the Lord of Rāmagiri. The geographical situation of Rāmtēk answers to the description of Rāmagiri in the *Mēghadūta*³ and it is known to have been regarded as a holy place for several centuries. There should therefore be no doubt about this identification. Several grants of Prabhāvatīguptā and Pravarasēna II were made after being offered to the Bhagavat who was plainly none but the god Rāmachandīa whose *pādukās* were installed at Rāmagiri. **Āsvatthanagara** has been identified with Asatpur in the Achalpur *tahsil* of the Amarāvati District of Vidarbha⁴. **Kōśika**, the headquarters of the *mārga* in which Asvatthanagara was situated, cannot, however, be located in its neighbourhood.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

1 जित(त) भगवता ॥ रामगिरिस्वामिनःपादमूलाद्गुप्तान(ना)मादि-

¹ Notice the omission of the title *Vākātakānām Mahā ājah* in connection with the name of Gautami-putra, who predeceased his father Pravarasēna I. See, above, No. 3, line 7.

² Cf वन्द्ये पुत्रा रघुपतिपदैरङ्कित मेखलासु । verse 12

³ For a fuller discussion of this identification, see my article 'Location of Rāmagiri' in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. IX, pp. 9 ff. See also my *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 12 f.

⁴ *J.A.S.B.*, N.S., Vol. XX, p. 58.

⁵ From the negative facsimiles facing pages 58 and 60 in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. XX.

- 2 राजो¹ महाराजश्रीघटोत्कचस्तस्य पुत्रो महाराजश्रीचन्द्र-
 3 गुप्त[^{*}] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादपरिगृहि(ही)त(तो) लिच्छविदौहित्रो
 4 महादेव्या(व्या) कुमारदेव्यामुत्पन्नो महाराजश्रीसमुद्रगुप्तस्तस्य पुत्र-
 5 स्तत्पादानुद्धृतातो न्यायागतानेकगोहिरण्यकोटिसहस्रप्रदस्सर्वराजो-

Second Plate First Side

- 6 च्छेत्ता पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथपरमभागवतो महादेव्या(व्या) दत्तदेव्यामु-
 7 त्पन्नो(न्नो) महाराजाधिराजश्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्तस्य दुहिता धारणसगोत्रा
 8 नागकुलोत्पन्नाया(या) कुबेरा(र)नाग(गा)देव्यामुत्पन्ना उभयकुलाल-
 9 ङ्कारभूता वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्याग्रमहिषी
 10 वाकाटकानाममहाराजश्रीदामोदरसेनप्रवरसेनजननी भगव-
 11 त्पादानुद्धृताता साग्रवर्षशतजीवपुत्रपौत्रा श्र(श्री)महादेवीप्रभ(भा)वती-²

Second Plate Second Side

- 12 गुप्ता ॥ कोशिकमार्ग(र्गो) अश्वत्थनगरे सब्रह्म(ब्राह्म)णपुर(रो)गग्राममहत्तरा(रा)श्च
 13 कुशलमुक्त्वा सम(मा)ज्ञापयत(ति)[^{*}]ऐहिकामुत्रिकमस्मिन्नगरे स्वपुण्याप्या[यना]त्थ(त्थं)
 14 पराशरसगोत्राणा(णा) तैत्तिरीयब्राह्मणानामप्यपुत्रापुत्राणा³ अभ्य-
 15 न्तरनिवेशने[न^{*}]सह कर्षकनिवेशनानि च⁴ चत्वार(रि)
 16 भुक्ता(क्त)काभोगक्षेत्रमुदकपूर्व(र्व)शासनेनो[न]सति(नि)बद्ध(द्धम्) । उचिताश्चास्य⁵
 17 पूर्वराजानुमताञ्चातुर्विद्यग्राममर्यादान्वितराम⁶स्तद्यथा

Third Plate First Side

- 18 अकरदायी(यि)⁷ अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य(श्य) अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह अचारा-
 19 सनचर्मज्ञार(र) अलवणक्लिन्नक्रेणिखनक(क) सर्वविस्वि(ष्टि)परिहारा(र)-
 20 परिहृत(त) सनिधान सोपनिधान सकल(क्लृ)प्तोपक्लि(क्लृ)प्तम(मा)चन्द्रा-
 21 दित्यकालीय(य) पुत्रपौत्रानुगामि भुञ्जता(ता) न केनचिद्वयाघात-
 22 ःकर्तव्य सर्वक्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्यपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [^{*}]यश्च(श्चा)स्मा(स्म)-
 23 च्छासनमगणयमान[^{*}]स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा(धा) कुर्यात्कारयि(ये)त वा तस्य

Third Plate Second Side

- 24 ब्राह्मण(णै)रावेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह करिष्याम [^{*}]अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धम्मदिर-
 25 करणे अनी(ती)तानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चित(न्त)नपरिपालन पुण्यानुकीर्तन-
 26 परिहारार्थं न कीर्त्तयाम [^{*}]सङ्कल्पाधि(भि)योगपराक्रमोपजि-
 27 जितान्वर्त्तमानामा(ना)ज्ञापयाम । व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्लोकप्रमाण(णम्)[^{*}]
 28 स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता वा यो हरेत वसुधराम् [^{*}]गवा शतसहस्रस्य
 29 हन्तुपिबति दुष्कृतमिति⁸ ॥ वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजश्रीप्रवर-

¹The Poonā plates have गुप्तादिराजो

²The facsimile shows the medial *i* (long) clearly

³Read ब्राह्मणाना सपुत्रापुत्राणा

⁴This word is superfluous

⁵Read उचिता चास्य

⁶Read मर्यादा वितराम

⁷These and the following expressions should be in the neuter gender and singular number so as to agree with क्षेत्र See भुक्तकाभोगक्षेत्र in line 16 above.

⁸Read दुष्कृतम् ॥ इति । Metre *Anushtubh*

RIDDHAPUR PLATES OF PRABHĀVATĪGŪPTĀ

18 20 22

325, a

18 20 22

24 26 28

325, b

24 26 28

30 32

325, c

30 32

2 4

325, d

2 4

6 8 10

325, e

6 8 10

12 14 16

325, f

12 14 16

Fourth Plate

- 30 सेनस्य राज्यप्रशासतसंवत्सरे¹ एकोनविंशतिमे² कार्तिक—
 31 मासशुक्लपक्षद्वादश्या (श्याम्) दूतक(को) देवनन्दस्वामी³ [1*] ली (लि) खित
 32 प्रभुसिद्धघने⁴ ॥

TRANSLATION

Victory has been attained by the Bhagavat¹ From the footprints of the **Lord of Rāmagiri**:—

(*There was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Ghatōtkacha**, the first king of the **Guptas**. His son (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (I)**. His son, graciously favoured by him, (*was*) the *Mahārāja*, the illustrious **Samudragupta**, (*who was*) born of the *Mahādēvī* **Kumāradēvī** (*and was*) the daughter's son of the **Lichchhavi** (*Chief*) His son, who meditated on his feet, (*was*) the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Chandragupta (II)**, born of the *Mahādēvī* **Dattadēvī**, who (*was*) a fervent devotee of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who (*was*) a matchless warrior on the earth, who exterminated all kings, (*and*) who donated many thousands of crores of cows and gold (*coins*) which he had obtained by lawful means

(Line 7) His daughter, the illustrious *Mahādēvī* **Prabhāvatīgupta** of the **Dhārāṇa** *gōtra*, born of the queen Kuberanāgā, who was herself born in a **Nāga** family,—who is an ornament of both the (*Gupta and Vākātaka*) families, who (*was*) the Chief Queen of the illustrious **Rudrasēna II**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**; who is the mother of the illustrious **Dāmodarasēna** (*ahas*⁵) **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the *Vākātakas*, who meditates on the feet of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), (*and*) who has sons and grandsons who will live for a full hundred years⁶—having announced (*her*) good health, commands the *Mahattaras* (elders) of the village led by the Brāhmanas (*residing*) in the **Aśvatthanagara** in the *mārga* (subdivision) of **Kōśika** as follows—

“ We have in this town donated the field enjoyed (*so far*) by Bhuktaka together with a farm-house situated in it (*and*) four huts of cultivators, to the Brāhmanas⁷ of the Parāśara *gotra* and the Taittirīya *śākhā*, whether they have or do not have sons, by pouring out water and issuing a charter for the increase of Our religious merit and (*Our welfare*) in this world and the next

(*For translation of lines 16-26, see above, pp 14-15*)

(Line 26) We issue this order to the present rulers (*who are*) vanquished by Our resolve, attack or valour

And the (*following*) verse, sung by Vyāsa, should be regarded as authoritative on this point

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(Line 29) In the **nineteenth year**, while the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, is governing his kingdom, on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) in the **bright fortnight** of the month **Kārttika** (*this charter has been written*) The **Dūtaka** is **Devanandasvāmin**. (*This charter*) has been written by **Prabhusimha**.

¹ Read राज्य प्रशासत संवत्सरे

² Read एकोनविंशतिमे

³ Gupte gives this name as देवन्दस्वामी in both his articles, but the reading is clearly as above.

⁴ Read प्रभुसिद्धेन.

⁵ See above, p 35

⁶ See above, p. 34

⁷ The names of the Brāhmanas have been omitted inadvertently

INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were in the possession of Pandit Vāmanśāstrī Islāmpuīkar of **Indore**. Their original findspot is not known, but, like some other grants¹ in the possession of the Pandit, they did not originally belong to Indore, but were evidently obtained by him somewhere else in the course of his search for Sanskrit manuscripts and antiquities. They were handed over by him to Dr D R Bhandarkar, from whom they were obtained by Mr Sushil K Bose for publication. They have been edited, with facsimiles, by him in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXIV, pp 52 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The **copper-plates**² are three in number, measuring 7" long by 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad. They are quite smooth, their edges not having been made thicker or raised into rims. About 2" from the left margin, each plate has a hole, about 5/16" in diameter for the ring which must have originally held the plates together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried is now forthcoming. The grant must have originally consisted of four plates, but the first plate is missing. As in the case of the other grants of Pravarasēna, the plate must have been incised on one side only, so that about seven lines of the record are now lost. The first two of the existing plates are inscribed on both the sides, while the last plate is inscribed on one side only. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. The extant portion of it consists of 34 lines, of which six are written on the first side of the first (*i.e.* originally the second) plate and seven on each of the other inscribed sides. The weight of the plates has not been recorded.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets resembling those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows —The rare medial *h* occurs in *sa-klīpt-opaklīptah*, line 23, *g* and *ś* have in some cases a curve turned inward at the end of the left member as in the Riddhapur plates; see *Kausika-sa-gōtra*-, line 15, *n* has no loop at the bottom in *-pautrinah*, line 4, *n* occurs in two forms, the cursive one as in *-Rudrasēna*-, line 1 and that resembling the Nāgarī form as in *Rudrasēna*-, line 6; *t* is generally unlooped, but in some cases it is confused with *n*, see *-sañchitnana*- for *sañchintana* in line 28, *b* appears in two forms as in the Siwanī plates. The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for an imprecatory verse in lines 31-33, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note (i) the reduplication of a consonant after *r* as in *-āryava*-, line 2, (ii) that of the consonant before *y* as in *-sarvv-āddhyaksha*-, line 9; (iii) that of *v* seemingly after *anusvāra* in *para-dattā[m*]vā*, line 32, (iv) the use of *n* for the medial *n* in *-Prithvi*-, line 5 and *vice versa* in *-kṛyābhi*-, line 25.

The inscription is one of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II**. His genealogy was apparently given in the beginning exactly as in the Jāmb plates, but its earlier portion which described Pravarasēna I and Bhavanāga, the chief of the Bhārasīvas, is now lost. The name of the place whence the plates were issued is also now lost, but as the grant is said to have been made at the victorious place of religious worship (*vajrayukē dharma-sthānē*),

¹ See, for instance, the grants of *Mahārāja Svāmīdāsa* and *Mahārāja Bhulunda*, which must have originally belonged to Khāndēsh. See my article in *A B O R I*, Vol XXV, pp 159 f. See also *C. I. I.*, Vol. IV, pp 5-10.

² The size of the plate and the position of the hole show that the Durg plate (No. 17) did not belong to this set.

the place of issue may have been the royal capital Pravarapura. The grant has been very carelessly drafted. The writer has, again, committed mistakes in omitting some words and afterwards writing them in wrong places¹. In one case he has substituted the name of a Brāhmana for that of the village granted². All this has made the task of interpretation very difficult. It seems, however, clear that the **object** of the present inscription was to record the grant of a village (the name of which is unfortunately lost owing to the writer's carelessness) which lay in the *mārga* of **Gēpuraka**, to the north of **Ārāmaka**, to the east of **Kobidārikā**, to the south of **Kōśambaka** and to the west of **Añjanavātaka**. In line 11 Pravarasēna II says that he made the grant for augmenting his religious merit, life, power and royal fortune as well as for his well-being in this world and the next. Line 20 read with line 13, however, states that a half of the *vāṭaka* (village) was purchased and donated to the Brāhmanas by the merchant *Chandra* near the foot-prints (*pāda-mūla*) of the *Bhagavat*, who was probably the same as the Lord of Rāmagni mentioned in the Riddhapur plates. In line 17 Pravarasēna II says that he has recorded the gift in a charter as it has been previously made³ and still he says further that the village has been granted to the Brāhmanas as a fresh gift with the pouring out of water⁴. The only way in which we can reconcile these conflicting statements is to suppose that the merchant *Chandra* purchased a half of the particular village and donated it to certain Brāhmanas and requested the king to confirm the gift and to issue a charter in that behalf. The king seems to have given the other half of the village for his own religious merit etc. The **donees** were the Brāhmana Gōndārya, the son of Viśākhārya, who was residing at **Ārāmaka**, and his six sons⁵ Manōrathārya, Gōvārya, Dēvārya, Bāppārya, Kumārārya and Drōnārya. They belonged to the Vāji-Kauśika *gōtra*. The grant is **dated** on the **fifth tithi** of the **dark fortnight** of **Vaiśākha** in the **twenty-third year** evidently of the reign of Pravarasena II. The order was communicated by the king personally. The grant was written by the *Rajuka* **Kottadēva**.

The mention of the officer *Rajuka* as the writer of the grant is interesting. The officer *Rājuka*, as he is named elsewhere, is first noticed in the inscriptions of Aśoka. He was a high officer placed in charge of many hundred thousands of men and could at his discretion inflict punishment or confer a reward. The term is derived from *rajyū* meaning a rope and originally signified a settlement officer who measured lands for the assessment of land-tax. The *Rajyuka* is also mentioned in an inscription of Chutukulānanda Sātakarni⁶. He is rarely noticed thereafter. His mention in the present grant shows that the term

¹The words *mūla datām-iti* at the end of line 13, which the Editor of the *Ep. Ind.* considered unintelligible, are connected in sense with *Bhagavat-pāda-* at the end of line 20. They should have been written at the bottom of the first side of the third plate. The writer committed a mistake in writing them at the bottom of the second side of the second plate. It will thus be seen that the merchant *Chandra* did not purchase half of any field from the Brāhmanas as supposed by Bose, but donated a half of the village to them near the footprints of the *Bhagavat*. From the boundaries given in the record it appears clear that the whole village, not a field in it, was granted by the king.

²The writer mentions Viśākhāryavātaka as a village in line 14. Viśākhārya was, however, the name of a Brāhmana who was the father of Gōndārya, one of the donees of this grant. While copying the record from the *bhūjapātra*, the writer's eye seems to have skipped over the proper name of the village, in place of which he wrote *Viśākhārya* occurring in the next line. Strange as it may seem, the mistake remained uncorrected.

³Notice *pu[r*]vva-dattā itī kṛtvā asmābhi[h*] śāsana-nibandhaḥ kṛtaḥ* in lines 17-18.

⁴Notice *a-pūrvv-dattā(ttyā) udaka-pūrvvam-atistṛishtaḥ* in line 18.

⁵Though the expression *Gōndārya-putra* is grammatically connected with only *Manōrathāryāya*, it is probably intended to be connected with the following names also.

⁶*Ep. Carn.*, Vol. VII, p. 251.

remained in use till the beginning of the fifth century A C at least

As no definite information is available about the original findspot of the present plates, it is not easy to locate the places mentioned in them, and none have been identified so far. After a good deal of search for them, I have been able to find some of them in the respective directions in the Bālāghāt District of Madhya Pradesh. **Kōśamba** which lay to the north of the donated village is probably identical with Kośambakhanda which Pravarasēna II granted by his Tirodi plates. As shown elsewhere, the latter is identical with Kōśamba, 6 miles to the south of Tīrōdī. **Añjanavātaka** which defined the eastern boundary of the donated village is probably Añjanwādī, about 5 miles to the south-east of Kōśamba. **Kōbidārikā** which lay to the west of the donated village may be Kunargaon, 4 miles south by west of Kosamba. These three villages thus lie in the same directions as those stated in the present grant. **Gēpuraka** and **Ārāmaka** cannot, however, be found in the neighbourhood of these villages. If these identifications are correct, the grant may have originally belonged to the Bālāghāt District.

TEXT¹

Second Plate First side

- 1 द(दौ)हित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटक(का)नाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो[*]
- 2 अत्यन्त]म(मा)हेश्वरस्य सत्याज्जवकारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्य-
- 3 धि(धी)मत्व[त्व]पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्मर्त्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य
- 4 वर्षशतमभ(भि)वर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ[त्रिण][*] युधिष्ठिर-
- 5 वृत्तेर्वाकाटकाना(ना) श्रीप्रि(पृ)थिविषेणस्य सूनो भगवत्तश्चकपाणे[*]
- 6 प्रसादोपाज्जितश्रीसमुदयस्य वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेन-

Second Plate Second Side

- 7 स्य सूनो[*] महाराजाधिराजश्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुताया(या) प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्न-
- 8 स्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्⁴] गेपुरकमार्गे अस्म-
- 9 त्सन्तिका²स्सर्वाद्धिचक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा-
- 10 [च्छा]³त्राश्च व्युषितपूर्वमया⁴ज्ञया ज्ञापयितव्या[*] विदितमस्तु व
- 11 यवा(थे) हास्माभिरात्मनो ध्व(ध)र्म(मर्मा)युर्ल(र्ब)ल(लै)श्वर्यविवृद्धि⁵ इहामुत्रहितात्थ
- 12 वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने आरामकस्य उत्तरपाश्वे कोविदारिकाया(या) पूर्व-
- 13 पाश्वे मूल दत्तामिति ।⁶

Third Plate First Side

- 14 कोशम्बकस्य दक्षिणपाश्व(श्वे) अञ्जनव(वा)टकस्य अपरप(पा)श्वे विशाखाय्यवाटक-
- 15 स्य(वाटक) अ(आ)रामकवास्तव्यवाजिकौशिकसर्गोत्रविशाखाय्यपुत्रगोण्डा-
- 16 र्याय गोण्डाय्यपुत्रमनोरथार्याय गोवार्याय देवार्याय
- 17 बाप्पार्याय च कुमारार्याय द्रोणार्याय पूर्व(र्व)दत्ता इति कृत्वा
- 18 यतोस्म(स्मा)भि [*] शासननिबन्ध⁷कृत अपूर्वदत्ता(त्त्या) उदकपूर्वमत्तिसृष्ट. [1*]
- 19 उचिता(ता)श्चास्य पूर्वराजानुमता(तान्) चातुर्व(र्व)द्यग्राममर्यादाम्परिहा⁷ वित्त-

¹ From facsimiles facing p 55 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIV

² Read अस्मत्सन्तका as in other Vākātaka grants

³ The superscript letter is imperfectly incised. Read -श्छात्रा-

⁴ Read विश्रुतपूर्वया.

⁵ Read विवृद्धय

⁶ The words मूल(मूले) दत्ता(त्त)मिति are to be connected with भगवत्पाद -in line 20, below.

⁷ Read ग्राममर्यादापरिहारान्

INDORE PLATES OF PRAVARASENA .II

2 4 6 14 16 18 20

22 24 26

28 30 32 34

2 4 6 14 16 18 20

22 24 26

28 30 32 34

2 4 6 14 16 18 20

22 24 26

28 30 32 34

20 राम [1*]अत्र वाटा(ट)काद्ध(द्ध) वाणिजकचद्रेण कयक्रीत ब्राह्म(णे)भ्यो भगवत्पाद¹ -

Thrd Plate Second Side

- 21 तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य[*] अपारपरतो(गो)बलिवद् [*]
 22 अपुष्पक्षि(क्षी)रसन्दोह अचार(रा)सनचमा(मर्मा)ङ्गार[*] अलवणक्विलत्व(न्न)कणिखनक[*]
 23 सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिह्नि(हु)त सतिधि सोपतिथि² अवलुप्तोपलुप्त
 24 आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जता(ता) न केनचि [द्*]
 25 व्याघात(त) न³ कर्त्तव्यस्सर्व्वकृ(क्रि)याभि[*] स(स)रक्षितव्यस्परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चा-
 26 स्मच्छासनमगनि(ण)यमाना(न) स्वल्पामपि परिबाधात्कुर्यात्कारयिन वा⁴
 27 तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेवि(दि)तस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्याम⁵ [1*] अस्मिश्च⁶ धम्म(मर्मा)धि-

Fourth Plate

- 28 करणे⁷ अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चित्त(न्त)नपरिपालन(न) कृतपुण्यानुकि(की)-
 29 र्त्तनपरिहारार्थ(र्थ) न कीर्त्तयाम [1*] सकल्पाभिद्योध⁸पराक्रम(मो)पजा(जि)तान्वत्थ(त्त)-
 30 घाता(माना)नाज्ञापयाम [1*] एष्यत्कालप्रभवि[ष्णा](ष्णु)गौरवाद्भविषाद्विज्ञा-
 31 पयाम⁹ [1*] व्यासगीतश्चात्र श्लोकप्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य । स्वदत्ता(त्ता)
 32 परदत्ताव्वा¹⁰ यो हरेत वसुन्धरा(राम् ।) गवा(वा) शतसहस्रस्य हन्तु- ।
 33 *पिबति दुष्कृत¹¹(तम् ॥) सवत्सरे त्रयोविशे वैशाखबहुलपचम्या
 34 आज्ञा स्वय(यम् ।) रजुककोटदेवेन लिखितम् [1*]

TRANSLATION

(The first plate of this grant is not forthcoming)

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas** born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

(For translation of lines 1 to 6, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 8) In the territorial division (*māga*)¹² of **Gēpuraka** Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command and (Our) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the (*following*) command which is already well known to them -

“Be it known to you that here in Our victorious place of religious worship in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power (*and*) prosperity (*and*) for (Our) well-being in this world and the next, We have recorded in a charter this gift as it was previously made—*viz* (*the gift of*) the village¹³ situated to the north of **Ārāmaka**, to the east of **Kōvidārikā**,

¹ The following words मले दत्तमिति occur in a corrupt form in line 13, above

² Read सतिधि सोपतिधि

³ This word is superfluous.

⁴ Read परिबाधा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा

⁵ Read कुर्याम

⁶ The *anusvāra* of स्मि is placed on च

⁷ Other *Vākātaka* grants generally read धम्मदिरकरणे

⁸ Read सकल्पाभियोग-

⁹ Read भविष्यान्विज्ञापयाम ।

¹⁰ Read परदत्ता वा

¹¹ Metre *Anushtubh*

¹² *Māga* seems to denote a territorial division, for no place is mentioned here as situated on the road to *Gēpuraka*

¹³ The name of the village has been omitted through inadvertence. The name of *Viśākhārya*, the father of *Gōndārya*, one of the donees, has been prefixed to *vātaka* by mistake

to the south of **Kōśambaka**, (*and*) to the west of **Añjanavāṭaka**, (*made*) to Gōndārya, son of Viśākhārya of the Vāji-Kauśika *gōtha*, who resides at **Ārāmaka** (*and to*) Manōrthārya, son of Gondārya, (*and*) Gōvārya, Dēvārya, Bāppārya, Kumārārya (*and*) Drōnārya, and We have given it as a gift not previously made with the pouring out of water. Half of this village was donated to the Brāhmanas by the Merchant **Chandra** near the foot-prints of the **Bhagavat**, after having purchased it (from Us)¹

And We grant here the (*following*) exemptions incident to a village donated to a Brāhmana, proficient in the four Vēdas:—

(*For translation of lines 21-28, see above, p. 14.*)

(Line 29) We command the present rulers who have been vanquished by Our resolve, attack and valour and We request the future lords out of reverence for them

The (*following*) verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse*)

(Line 33). (*This charter*) has been written on the **fifth** (*lunar day*) in the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Vaiśākha** in the **twenty-third** (regnal) year. The order (*was communicated*) by (*the king*) himself². (*The charter has been*) written by the *Rajuka* **Kōṭṭadēva**.

¹ In the original this statement occurs partly in line 20 and partly in line 13. In both the cases it has been misplaced. See above, p. 39, n. 1..

² As the order was communicated by the king himself, no *Dūtaka* has been named in this charter

DUDIĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were in the possession of some Gonds at **Dudiā** in the Aser *parganā* of the Chhindwārā District of Madhya Pradesh. They have been edited before, with facsimiles, by Dr Kielhorn in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol III, pp 258. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

“The **copper-plates** are four in number, each of which measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ " long by $3\frac{5}{8}$ " broad. The second and third plates are inscribed on both sides, the first plate is so on one side, and the fourth is blank and merely serves to protect the writing on the second side of the third plate. The plates are quite smooth, their edges having been neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims, but the writing, nevertheless, is in an excellent state of preservation. About $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin, each plate has a hole, about $\frac{7}{16}$ " in diameter, for a ring on which the plates were strung. The ring is between $\frac{1}{4}$ " and $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and $3\frac{7}{8}$ " in diameter. The two ends of the piece of copper of which it is formed are flattened off, and contain holes for a rivet, which has been lost. On the ring slides a copper band, $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad, which is bent into a ring of $\frac{7}{8}$ " by $1\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter, and the two ends of which are soldered together. Through the soldered part a hole is drilled, which corresponds to a hole in the centre of a circular **seal**; and a rivet, which also is lost now, must have held the copper band and the seal together. Owing to the loss of the two rivets, the ring, the copper band and the seal are now quite loose. The seal is $3\frac{1}{16}$ " diameter, and has across its surface a legend in four lines. The weight of the four plates is $3\frac{1}{4}$ lbs, that of the ring, the copper band and the seal is $\frac{1}{2}$ lb, total, $3\frac{3}{4}$ lbs.¹”

The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets and resemble those of the preceding Indore plates. Like the latter, they show two forms of *n* and *b*, the curve of *l* encircles the letter on the left as in *-lalāmasya* in line 1 of the seal, the sign of the *jhvāmūliya* occurs in line 22 and that of the *upadhmāniya* in line 3 of the seal and line 16 of the plates. Inter-punctuation is shown by one or more horizontal or vertical strokes. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, with the exception of the legend on the seal and one imprecatory verse in line 27-28, the whole record is in prose. As regards **orthography**, we find that a consonant has been reduplicated before and after *r* as in *parākkram-*, lines 4-5 and *-Āptōryyām-*, line 1, before *y* as in *Bhāgnatthy-amala-*, line 5, and after *anusvāra* in *samvatsarē*, line 28.

The inscription, which opens with *dṛṣṭam*, is one of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II**. His genealogy is given here exactly as in the Jāmb plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta**. The **object** of it is to record the grant, by **Pravarasēna**, of 25 (*nivartanas*) of land at **Darbhamalaka** in the **Chandrapura sangamikā**, to one **Yakshārya** of the Kauśika *gōtra*, and of sixty (*nivartanas*) of land² at the village of **Karmakāra** in the **Hiranyapura bhoga** to one **Kālīsarman** of the Kaundinya *gōtra*. The order is addressed to the royal officers, soldiers and policemen in the **Ārammi-rājya** in which evidently both the aforementioned villages were situated. The charter was written by **Gōladāsa** while **Namidāsa** was the *Sēnāpati*. It was issued from **Pravarapura**.

¹*Ep Ind*, Vol III, pp 258-59

²The figures of land (*bhūmi*) given here, like those in the Chammak plates, probably refer to the *nivartanas*. See line 22 of the Pattan plates (No 13, below) which mention 400 *nivartanas* of land according to the royal measure.

The record is **dated**, in line 28, on the **tenth day** of the **fourth fortnight** of the **rainy season** in the **twenty-third year** evidently of Pravarasēna II's reign. It does not admit of verification, but probably corresponds to the tenth *tithi* of the bright half of the month Bhādrapada. The date is noteworthy as it is one of the two **season dates** known so far from Vākātaka inscriptions. In all other inscriptions dates are recorded in lunar months and *tithis*.

The **localities** mentioned in the present grant have not yet been satisfactorily identified. Dr. Kielhorn suggested the identification of **Chandrapura** with Chāndpur, 'which lies to the south of Siwanī and to the west of the Wengangā river¹', but he could not locate the other places mentioned in the grant. Dr. Hiralal proposed to identify **Ārammi** with Ārvī, the chief town of the Ārvī *tahsil* of the Wardhā District, and Chandrapura with Chāndur where there is a confluence of the two rivers Chandrabhāgā and Sarasvatī. Further, he suggested that **Hiranyapura** might be Sōnegaon near Chāndur and **Karmakāra**, Kalamgaon close to the same town². These identifications also are not quite satisfactory. A clue to location of the places is possibly afforded by the mention of Hiranyapura. This town may have been situated on the river Hiranyā which is mentioned in the Wadgaon plates of Pravarasena II. As shown elsewhere, this Hiranyā is identical with the modern river Eraī³. Chandrapura may be the modern Chāndā, the chief town of the Chāndā District. This old name of the town is still current. Near Chāndā there is the confluence of the two rivers, Ēiaī and Jharpat. In fact the town of Chāndā is situated in the angle formed by these two rivers so that its situation answers to the description of Chandrapura in the present grant viz. that it was a *sangamukā* or 'a tract of land near the confluence of two rivers', but the mention of Ārammi-rājya in the recently discovered Pāndhurnā plates⁴ also has raised doubt about these identifications. Since both the grants which mention Ārammi-rājya come from the Chhindwārā District, we must evidently look for the places situated in them in that very district. As shown elsewhere, some of the localities referred to in the Pāndhurnā plates can be identified in the neighbourhood of Pāndhurnā, which indicates that Ārammi, the headquarters of that division, may be modern Āmlā, about 40 miles north by west of Pāndhurnā. None of the places mentioned in the present grant can, however, be traced in that region, unless Hiranyapura is Harankhedī, about 6 miles north of Multāī.

TEXT⁵

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टम् [। "] प्रवरपु[रा]त्⁶ अग्निष्टोम (मा) प्तोय्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्र⁷ वाजपेयबृहस्पति-
- 2 सवसाद्यस्क्रन्तुरश्वमेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट (ज) वाकाटकानाम्म-
- 3 हाराजश्चि (श्री) प्रवरसेनस्य सूनो. सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य असभारस-
- 4 न्निवेशितशि[व*]लिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशानाम्पराक्क-
- 5 माधिगतभागि (गी) रत्थमलजलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृत (थ) स्नातानाम्भा-
- 6 रशिवानाम्महाराजश्चि (श्री) भगवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमि (मी) पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाट-
- 7 कानाम्मह (हा) राजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्ज्वकारुण्य-

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol III, p. 260

² *ICP.B.*, p. 93

³ Below, p. 54.

⁴ No. 14, lines 26 and 29

⁵ From the facsimiles facing pages 260 and 261 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol III

⁶ Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed

⁷ Originally -तिरोत्र, changed to -तिरात्र

Second Plate First Side

- 8 शौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि (धी) मत्व (त्व) पात्रगत¹ भक्तित्वधर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्मर्मल्य-
(ल्या) दिगु-
9 णै [*] समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभी (भि) वर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिर-
वृत्तेर्वी-
10 काटकान (ना) म्महाराजश्रीपृथिविषेन (ण) स्य सूनो भगवतश्चक्रपाणे [*] प्रसादोपाज्जि-
(ज्जि) तश्रीसमुद-
11 यस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री (श्री) रुद्रसेनस्य सूनो महाराजाधिराजदेवगुप्त-
12 सुताया (या) प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य वाकाटकानाम्मह (हा) राजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य
13 वा (व) चनात् आरम्मिराज्ये अस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्वाद्विचक्षणियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारि-
कुल-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 14 पुत्र (त्रा) धिकृता भटाश्छात्र (त्रा) श्च व्युषतपूर्वमयाज्ञाय² ज्ञापयितव्या [*] विदितमस्तु
व (व) यथेहास्माभि-
15 रात्मनो धर्म्मयुर्बलमैश्वर्य्य³ विवृद्धये इहामुत्रहितार्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयैके⁴ धर्म्मस्थाने
चन्द्रपुर-
16 सङ्गमिकाया⁵ दर्भमलके भूमे [च]⁶ पञ्चविंश⁷ कौशिकसगोत्र (त्रा) य यक्षार्याय
हिरण्यपुरभोगे
17 कर्म्मकारग्रामे भूमे [*] षष्टि [*] कौण्डिन्यसगोत्राय कालिशर्म्मण्य⁸ अपूर्वदत्या (त्या)
उदकपूर्व-
18 मतिसृष्ट⁹ [*] उचिताश्चास्य¹⁰ पूर्वराजानुमता चातुर्व्वेद्यग्राममय्या (र्या) दा¹¹ परिहारा-
र्थन्वितरामस्त-¹²
19 त¹³ यथा अकरदायिन्यौ¹⁴ अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य¹⁵ अपारम्परगोबलीवर्द्ध¹⁶ अपुष्पक्षि (क्षी) र-

Thurd Plate First Side

- 20 सन्दोहौ अवा (चा) रासनचर्म्मज्झारौ । अलवणकिलन्नक्केणिखनकौ सर्व्व (वे) ण्टिपरिहारपरी-
(रि) हतौ
21 सनिधिस्सोपनि [धी]¹⁷ । सविल (क्लृ) प्तोपविल (क्लृ) प्तौ । आचन्द्रादित्यकालीयौ पुत्रपौत्रानु-
गामी (मिनौ) भुञ्जता (ता) न केनचि-

¹ Kielhorn's suggestion that the correct reading is पात्रगत- does not appear to be correct

² Read विश्रुतपूर्वमयाज्ञया.

³ Read -वर्बलैश्वर्य-

⁴ Read वैजयिके

⁵ Read सङ्गमिकाया

⁶ This *akshara* is superfluous

⁷ Read भूमे पञ्चविंशति

⁸ Read कालिशर्म्मणे.

⁹ Read -मतिसृष्टा

¹⁰ Read उचिता चास्या

¹¹ Read either ग्राममर्यादा वितराम or ग्रामपरिहारान् वितराम See No 2, line 16 and No 3, line 25.

¹² The *visarga* after म is cancelled.

¹³ This *akshara* is superfluous

¹⁴ Read अकरदायिनौ This is supposed to qualify some word like भूमिखण्डौ

¹⁵ Read -प्रावेश्यौ

¹⁶ Read -बलीवर्द्धौ

¹⁷ Read सनिधी सोपनिधी

- 22 व्या(द्वया)घातः कर्त्तव्य सर्वविक्रयाभिस्सरक्षितव्य परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च¹ [।] यश्चास्मच्छासना-
(न)मगन(ण)य-
23 माने(न) स्वल्पा(पा)मपि परिबाधा² कुर्यात्कारयित वा³ तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य
सदण्ड-
24 निग्रहङ्कुर्यामि(म) अस्मी(स्मि)श्च धर्म्मदिरकरणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सञ्चिन्तन⁴-
परिपालन(न)
25 कृतपुण्यानुकीर्तनपरिहारार्थंन कीर्त्तयाम [।*] सङ्कल्पाभिद्योध(योग)पराक्रमोपजित(ता)-
न्वर्त्तमाना-

Third Plate · Second Side

- 26 नाज्ञापयाम । एष्यतत्काल⁵प्रभविष्णुगौरवा(वा)द्भविष्यान्विज्ञापयाम. [।*] व्यासगीतश्चात्र
श्लोक⁶
27 प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य । स्वदत्ताम्परद[त्ता] व्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरान्(म्) [।*] गवा(वा) शतसह-
स्रस्य हत्तु(न्तु)र्ह-
28 रति दुष्कृतम्⁷ [।*] सव्वत्सरे त्रयोविंशतिमे⁸ वर्षपक्षे चतुर्थे दिवसे दशमे सेनापतौ ।⁶
29 नमिदासे ।⁶ लिखित गोलदासेन ॥

Seal

- 1 वाकाटकललामस्य ।⁶
2 वक्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रियम्⁹ [।*]
3 राज्ञः प्रवरसेनस्य ।⁶
4 शासन रिपुशासनम्⁷ [।*]

TRANSLATION

Seen From **Pravarapura**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, born of **Prabhavatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

(For translation of lines 1-10, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 13) Our officers of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) (and) who exercise their authority by (Our) command and (Our) soldiers and policemen in the **Ārammi-rājya** should be directed by the following command which is well known (to them) —

“Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power and prosperity and to obtain blessings for ourself, We have donated here at Our place of religious worship with the pouring out of water twenty-five *navartanas* of land in (the village of)

¹ Read -स्मरक्षितव्यौ परिवर्द्धयितव्यौ च

² This *anusvāra* is wrongly placed over the following *akshara*.

³ Read कारयेद्वा

⁴ Read -राजदत्तसञ्चिन्तन-

⁵ Read एष्यत्काल-

⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁷ Metre *Anushtubh*

⁸ Read सवत्सरे त्रयोविंशतितमे

⁹ Read प्राप्तनृपश्रिय

DUDIĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

2
 2
 4
 6

2
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2
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8
 10
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14
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20 သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၀ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၂ ဤသက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၂ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၄ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၄ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်

၂၆ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၆ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၈ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်
 ၂၈ သက္ကရာဇ် ၁၀၀၀ ခုနှစ် ဇန်နဝါရီလ ၁၀ ရက်နေ့ နံနက် ၈ နာရီခန့်တွင်

Seal



Darbhamalaka in the **Saṅgamikā** of **Chandrapura** to **Yakshārya** of the Kauśika *gōtīa*, and sixty *nivartanas* of land in the village of **Karmakāra** situated in the *bhōga* of **Hiraṇyapura** to **Kālīsarman** of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtīa*, as gifts not previously made.

(For translation of lines 18-25, see above, p. 14.)

(Line 25). We issue this order to the present rulers (who have been) vanquished by Our resolve, attack or valour. (And) We make this request to future (rulers) out of reverence for them.

(Line 26). And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point.

(Here occurs an imprecatory verse.)

(Line 28). (This charter) has been written by **Gōladāsa**, while **Namidāsa** is the *Sēnāpati*, on the **tenth day** in the **fourth fortnight** of the **twenty-third** (regnal) year.

Seal

(For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.)

TIRŌDĪ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were found at the manganese mine of **Tirōdī**, 8 miles south-east of Katangī, in the Bālāghāt District of Madhya Pradesh. They were made over to me for publication by Mr T A Wellsted, Manager of the Manganese Mines, Mansar. I edited them with facsimiles and an English translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXI, pp 167 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 7 7" × 3 8". The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker, nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation. About 2 1" from the proper right margin, the plates have a roundish hole, 4" in diameter for a circular ring to connect them. The ends of this ring, which is 3 3" in diameter, were flattened off so as to overlap and were joined with a pin. They were so secured when the plates were sent to the Nāgpur Museum. On this ring slides a small circular band about 7" broad and 3 8" in circumference, to which is secured with a rivet a flat circular copper **seal**, 2 7" in diameter. The weight of the plates is 126 *tōlās*, and that of the ring, the band and the seal is 18½ *tōlās*. Each inscribed side of the first two plates contains six lines, that of the third, five lines, and that of the fourth, only four lines.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows — The length of the medial *ī* is shown either by a ringlet in the curve representing short *i* as in *pramānī*-, line 29, or by another curve turned in the opposite direction as in *trayōvīśe*-, line 31. The medial *ō* also is shown in two ways, (i) with a *mātrā* on each side of a consonant as in *Shōdashy*-, line 1 and (ii) with a curve on the right side only as in *bhuñjātō*-, line 23. The medial *au* is everywhere bipartite. *D* and *d* are not clearly distinguished, cf *Shōdashy*-, line 1, and *samuditasya*-, line 8. *B* appears in two forms as in other Vākātaka inscriptions. In its subscript form it appears like *v* in one place, see *āyur-bbala*-, line 15 and *-udvahana*-, line 4. The *visarga* signifies a double mark of punctuation in lines 13, 24, 26 etc. The completion of the record is shown by a long horizontal line.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the legend on the seal and the usual imprecatory verse towards the close, the whole record is in prose. The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of a consonant after *r* and *anusvāra*, and of that before *y*. The use of *ṛ* for the vowel *ṛ* and of *ḷ* for the vowel *ḷ* may also be noted, see *dr̥ṣṭam*-, line 1 and *sa-kl̥pt-opakl̥ptah*-, lines 22-23. On the other hand, *ṛ* occurs for *ṛ* in *sarva-kṛiyabhī*-, line 24. The final consonant is dropped in some places, see *-sthānā*-, line 1 and *-dvādaśyā*-, line 31.

The plates were issued from **Narattangavāri** by the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II**. His genealogy is given as in his other grants. The inscription opens with *dr̥ṣṭam*, 'seen'. The **object** of it is to record the grant of the village **Kōśambakhanda** to a Brāhmana named **Varuṇārya** of the Haikarī *gōtra* and the Atharvavēda, who was a resident of **Chāndrapura** and was proficient in three Vēdas. The donated village was bounded on the east by **Jamalī**, on the south by **Vardhamānaka**, on the west by **Mrigasima** and on the north by **Mallakapēdhaka**. As the order is addressed to the officers and soldiers in the western division (*apara-paṭṭa*)

of **Bennākata**, it is evident that the donated village was situated in it. The grant was written by the Chief Minister (*Rāy-ādhikṛta*) **Chamidāsa**¹ by the King's own order.

The grant is **dated**, in words, on the **twelfth day** of the **dark fortnight** of **Māgha** in the **twenty-third year**, evidently of Pravarasēna II's reign. Unlike most other grants of Pravarasēna II, the present grant was not made at the royal capital², but at a place called **Narattaṅgavāri** which may have been a *tīrtha*. The month of Māgha is specially praised in the Purāṇas as very sacred, and various legends are narrated in them to evince the great merit of bathing at a holy place during that month³. The eleventh *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the *pūrṇimānta* Māgha, which is called Shattilā Ēkādaśī and is observed as a fast-day, is highly glorified in the *Padmapurāṇa*⁴. Pravarasena may therefore have gone to the **Narattaṅgavāri** *tīrtha* to bathe there on the Shattilā Ēkādaśī day and may have made the present grant on the following day before breaking his fast. The grant was made by him for his religious merit, life, strength and prosperity, for securing his well-being in this world and the next, as well as for augmenting the religious merit of his mother. As he mentions only his mother and not his father also, who was long since dead, it is likely that she was living at the time of the present grant and may have accompanied him to the holy place. Only four years before, she had made her own grant recorded in the Riddhapur plates.

As for the **geographical names** occurring in the present plates, **Narattangavāri** was probably a *tīrtha* as suggested above. This is probably a joint name like Nāgapura-Nandīvar-dhana, and means Vāri near Narattanga⁵. In that case it can be identified with Wāri, also called Bhairavagadh, now a deserted village on the river Bān or Wān in the extreme north-west of the Akōt *tahsil* in the Akōlā District⁶. It is only 18 miles to the west of the old fort of Narnālā, which probably represents ancient Narattanga, and is still regarded as a holy place. **Kōśambakhanda**, the donated village, is evidently Kōsamba, about 6 miles to the north-east of Tirōdī, where the plates were found. **Bennākata** was evidently a district⁷ comprising the territory round the modern village Bēnī, 35 miles to the east of Kōsamba in the Gondīā *tahsil* of the Bhandārā District, which may have been its headquarters. The district seems to have been divided into two parts by the river Bennā, modern Waingangā⁸. Kōsamba, which now represents ancient Kōśambakhanda, is only 20 miles from the Waingangā, and was evidently included in the western division (*apara-patta*) of Bennākata. Of the villages that formed its boundaries, only one can now be traced. **Jamali** which bounded it on the east is probably modern Jamuntōlā, 3 miles to the east of Kōsamba. **Chāndrapura**, where the

¹Dr. N. P. Chakravarti suggests that the name may be read as Navamidāsa.

²It is noteworthy that the expression *vayayikē dharmasthānē*, which occurs in the grants made at the royal capital, does not occur in this charter.

³Cf. कामधेनुर्धया काम चिन्तामणिस्तु चिन्तितम् । माघस्तान् ददातीह तद्वत्सर्वमनोरथान् ॥ *Padmapurāṇa*, *Uttarakhanda*, *adhyāya* 124, v. 164.

⁴*Ibid.*, *Uttarakāṇḍa*, *adhyāya* 43, vv. 5 f.

⁵As there are now and were probably in ancient Vīdarbhā several villages named Vāri or Vārkhed, Narattanga seems to have been fixed to the place-name to define the position of the place intended.

⁶At this place there are ruins of a fort called Bhairavagadh, with an image of Kāla-Bhairava. The place may have attained importance in the time of Pravarasēna II's ancestor Rudrasēna I, who was a fervent devotee of Kāla-Bhairava.

⁷Bhōjakata is another name ending in *kata*. The *Mahābhārata*, *Sabhāparvan*, *adhyāya* 31, vv. 10-12, states that Sahadēva vanquished the lords of Bhōjakata and Vēṇātata. The name of the latter occurs as Vēṇākata in many Grantha MSS. of the epic.

⁸Bennākāpara-bhōga mentioned in the Siwanī plates is another territorial division named after the river Bennā. As shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned as situated therein can be identified in the Āmgaon Zamindari, east of the Waingangā.

donee was living, is probably identical with Chāndpur. It lies only twelve miles to the south-east of Kosamba and contains an old fort. The other villages cannot be identified.

TEXT¹

First Plate

- 1 द्वि(दृ)ष्टम् [।*] नरतङ्गवारिस्थाना[त्*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोय्यामोक्थ्यषोडश्य[ति]रात्रवाजपेय-
बृहस्पतिस-
2 वसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन² विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्पाद्(जो) वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री-
3 प्रवरसेनस्य सूनोः सूनोरत्यन्त³स्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य ।⁴ असभारसन्निवेशि-
4 तशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशाना पराक्रमाधिगतभागी-
5 रत्थ्या(त्थ्य)मलजलमूर्द्धना(र्द्धा)भिषिक्ताना⁵म्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमी-
6 पुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नो

Second Plate · First Side

- 7 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्या[र्ज्ज]वकारुन्य(ण्य)शौर्य्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहात्म्यधि(धी)मत्व(त्व)
8 गतभन्तिक्व⁶धर्मविजयित्वमनोनैम्म(र्म)ल्यादिगुणै[*]समुदितस्य वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमा-
9 नकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकाना(ना)म्महा-
10 राजश्रीपृथिविसेनस्य⁷ सूनो[*] भगवतश्चक्रपाणेप्रसादोपाज्जितश्रीसमुदस्य
11 वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो महाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्त-
12 सुताया(या)म्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य ।⁸ वाकाटकानामहा-

Second Plate · Second Side

- 13 राजश्री(श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] । बेन्नाकटस्य अपरपट्टे ॥⁸ अस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्वाद्यक्ष-
नियोग-
14 नियुक्ता आज्ञासचारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाच्छात्राश्च⁹ व्युषितपूर्वमयाज्ञाया¹⁰ज्ञापयितव्या [।*]
15 विदितमस्तु व यथेहास्माभिरात्मनो धर्मायुर्बलमैश्वर्य्यविवृद्धये¹¹ इहामुत्रहि-
16 नार्थ मातु[पु]ण्योपचयार्थ जमल्या अपरपार्श्वे वर्द्धमानकस्य उत्तरपार्श्वे
17 मृगसिमस्य पूर्वपार्श्वे मल्लकपेधकस्य दक्षिणपार्श्वे कोशम्बखण्ड नाम ग्राम.
18 चाद्र(चाद्र)पुरवस्तव्यअथेर्वाण¹²हर्करि¹³सगोत्रवरुणार्याय त्रिवेदाय दत्त¹⁴

Third Plate : First Side

- 19 अपूर्वदत्त्या¹⁵ उदकपूर्वमतिसृष्ट [।*] उचितांश्चास्य पूर्वराजानुमताचा(तांश्चा)तुर्व्वेद्यग्रामम
20 य्यादापरिहारान्वितराम स्तद्यथा¹⁶ अकरदायि(यी) अभटच्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य अपारंपरगो

¹From the facsimiles facing pages 172 and 173 in *Ep Ind.*, Vol. XXII.

²Here and in many places below, the rules of *sandhu* have not been observed

³The box at the top of न्त is not complete

⁴This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁵The adjective दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाताना which occurs in other cognate plates is omitted here.

⁶Read -पात्रगतभक्तित्व-

⁷Read पृथिवीषेणस्य

⁸This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁹Read भटाच्छात्राश्च

¹⁰Read विश्रुतपूर्वमयाज्ञाया-

¹¹Read -र्बलैश्वर्य्य-

¹²Read -वास्तव्याथर्वण-

¹³The *gotra* is named हर्करि in the *Gotrapravarambandhakadamba*.

¹⁴This word is superfluous

¹⁵Read अपूर्वदत्त्या

¹⁶Read -न्वितरामस्तद्यथा

- 21 बलिबर्ह[*] अपुष्पक्षि(क्षी)रसन्दोह अचारासनचर्म्मार्ङ्गार अलवन(ण)किलण(न्न)के-
 22 णिखनक सर्व्वविष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत सनिधि सोपनिधि[*] सक्लि(क्लृ)प्तो-
 23 पक्लि(क्लृ)प्त आचन्द्रादित्यकालीय पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जतो न केनचिद्व्याघात¹

Third Plate Second Side

- 24 कर्त्तव्य सर्व्वकृ(क्रि)याभिस्सरक्षितव्यपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च ॥ यश्चास्मच्छासनमगन(ण)य-
 25 मानस्स्वल्पामपि परिबाधात्कुर्यात्कारयित² वा तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्ड निग्र-
 26 ह कुर्यामि ॥ अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्माद्धि(धि)करणे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता सचीन्तन³परि-
 27 पालन(न) कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थन्न क(की)र्त्तयाम सकल्पाभिद्यो(यो)गपरा-
 28 क्रमोपजिताव्व(व्व)त्तम(मा)नानाज्ञापयाम एष्यतत्काल⁴प्रभविष्णुगौरवा-

Fourth Plate

- 29 वभ(द्भ)विष्यान्विज्ञापयाम [।*] व्यासगीतश्चात्रश्लोक प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्य [।*] स्वदत्ताम्पर-
 30 दत्ताव्वा(त्ता वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धरा (राम्) [।*] गवान्शतसहस्रस्य⁵ । हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत⁶ ।
 31 साव्वत्सरे त्रयोविंशे⁷ ।⁸ माघबहुलपक्षे द्वादश्या[म्*] । आज्ञा
 32 स्यय [स्वयम्] [।*] राज्याधिकृतन(तेन) चमिदासेन लिखितमिति ।

Seal

- 1 वाकाटकललामस्य
 2 कक्र(क्र)मप्राप्तपुत्ति(नू)पश्रियम्(य) [।*]
 3 राज्ञ[*] प्रवरसेनस्य ।⁸
 4 शासन रिपुशासनम् ॥⁹

TRANSLATION

Seen. From the place **Narattangavāri**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, who was born of **Prabhavatiguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, (and) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja*, of the **Vākātakas**—

(For translation of lines 1 to 10, see above, pp 13-14)

Our officials of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaaksha* (Gencial Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, (*Our*) soldiers and policemen in the western division (*aparapatta*) of (*the district*) **Bennākata** should be directed by the following command which is already well known (*to them*).—

“Be it known to you that in order to increase Our religious merit, life, power and prosperity and to secure (*Our*) well-being in this world and the next, the village named **Kōśambakhanda**, which lies to the west of **Jamali**, to the north of **Vardhamānaka**, to the east of **Mrigasima**, and to the west of **Mallakapēdhaka**, is bestowed here with the pouring

¹Read केनचिद्व्याघात

²Read परिबाधा कुर्यात्कारयेद्वा

³Read राजदत्तसचिन्तन-

⁴Read एष्यतकाल-

⁵Read गवा शतसहस्रस्य The following mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁶Read दुष्कृतम् Metre *Anushtubh*

⁷Read सवत्सरे त्रयोविंशे

⁸This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁹Metre *Anushtubh*.

out of water as a grant not previously made, upon **Varuṇārya** of the Atharvavēda and the Harkari *gotra*, who has (*mastered*) the three Vēdas and is a resident of **Chāndrapura**.

(*For translation of lines 19 to 26, see above, pp. 14-15 and for that of lines 26 to 29, see above, p. 32.*)

(Line 29). And the following verse sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as an authority on this point:—

(*Here occurs an imprecatory verse.*)

(*This order was communicated*) by the king himself on the **twelfth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark fortnight** of (*the month*) **Māgha** in the **twenty-third** (*regnal*) **year**. (*It has been*) written by the *Rājyādhikṛita* **Chamidāsa**.

Seal

(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.*)

WADGAON PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were handed over to Dr S S Patwardhan, Curator of the Central Museum, Nagpur, by one Bhagwan Shiva Ganar of Yēnur, a village in the Hinganghāt *tahsil* of the Waidhā District, in Vidarbha. They were in the possession of his grandfather at **Wadgaon** in the Warōrā *tahsil* of the Chāndā District. They were published by me with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVII, pp 74 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are now deposited in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on the inner side only, and the other two on both the sides. They measure 6 5'' long and 3 5'' broad, and weigh 97 *tolas*. They were held together by a ring, about 3 *tālās* in weight, passing through a roundish hole, 1 3'' from the middle of the left side of each plate. It must have originally carried the usual Vākātaka seal sliding on it, but it is not forthcoming now. There are forty-two lines of writing in all, which are evenly distributed on the six inscribed faces of the four plates. The writing is in a good state of preservation throughout. In a few cases the engraver has corrected his mistakes of omission and commission, see *amsa-bhāra*-, line 4, *saty-āṅḡava*-, line 9 etc., but there are many more which are left uncorrected. In the right-hand lower corner of the first side of the second plate, he has incised the syllables *Mārade(dā)sē*, which were inadvertently omitted in line 42¹. In line 21 several letters were beaten in and in their place the expression *viśhva-vāchanaka*- was incised. This correction or tampering, whatever it might be, was apparently done in the Vākātaka age, for the substituted *akṣaras* are of the same type as the rest of the record.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet resembling those of the other inscriptions of Pravarasēna II. The noteworthy peculiarities are the cursive form of the medial *ū* in *sūnōh*-, line 4; the bipartite *au* in *dauhutrasya*-, line 7, the medial *ri*, which is formed not by the usual curling curve, but by the addition of a curve turned downwards on the left of *k* in *-adhikṛitā*-, line 23, and the rare medial *li* in *klipt-lopakliptah*-, line 31. The **numerical symbols** for 400 occur in line 20, and those for 2 and 3 on the second side of the second and the third plate respectively. The **language** is Sanskrit, and, except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses, the whole record is in prose. The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of a consonant after *r* and before *y*, see *āṅḡava*-, line 9 and *Bhāgmatthy*-, line 6.

The inscription is one of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Pravarasēna II**. It opens with *dṛṣṭam*. The genealogy of the king is given here exactly as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta**. The **object** of the inscription is to record the grant of 400 *mvartanas* of land by the royal measure, which **Pravarasēna II** made to a Brāhmaṇa named **Rudrārya**, who was versed in two Vēdas and belonged to the Vāji-Lōhītya *gōṭha*². He was a resident of the village **Ēkārjunaka**. The land donated to him was in the village **Vēlusuka** which was situated in the **Supratishtha āhāra** or subdivision. The village lay to the east of **Gridhragrāma**, to the south of **Kadambasaraka**, to the west of **Niligrāma** and to the north of **Kōkilāra**. The plates were issued from the royal camp on the bank of

¹For another instance of a correction inserted in a wrong place, see above, p 39, n. 1.

²A similar *gotra*, with *Vāji* prefixed to it, is *Vāji-Kauśika* mentioned in the Indore plates, line 15. In both these cases the donees may have belonged to the Vājasanēya *sākhā* of the Yajurveda.

the river **Hiranyā** on the **tenth tithi** of the **bright fortnight** of **Jyēshṭha** in the **twenty-fifth year**¹, evidently of the reign of Pravarasēna II. The *Sēnāpati* at the time was **Bāppadēva**. He is mentioned also in the Siwanī plates of Pravarasēna II. The scribe was **Māradāsa**.

The **donee** Rudrārya is styled *viśhuva-vāchanaka* (reciter at a *viśhuva*) which suggests that the grant was made on the occasion of a *viśhuva* or equinox. The *viśhuva* immediately preceding the date of the grant was that of the Mesha-sankrānti falling in Chaitra. The grant was evidently made to the Brāhmana for reciting certain sacred texts on the occasion of the *viśhuva* or Mesha-sankrānti.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, the **Supratishtha āhāra** in which the village **Vēlusuka** was situated is mentioned in two other grants, viz., the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā and the Jāmb plates of Pravarasēna II. It seems to have comprised parts of the Hīnganghat, Warorā and Yeotmāl *taluk*s of the Wardhā, Chāndā and Yeotmāl Districts respectively. The village Vēlusuka in which the donated land was situated cannot now be traced, but it seems to have occupied the same position as modern Chinchmandal which lies just on the south of the elbow of the Wunnā, for all the boundary villages mentioned in the present charter can be traced in the vicinity of it in the respective directions. Thus **Gridhragrāma** is Gadeghāt, about 8 miles to the west, and **Niligrāma** is Niljaī, about 5 miles to the east of Chinchmandal. **Kadambasaraka** is Kosara, about 2 miles to the north. **Kōkilāra** is modern Khairī which lies about 4 miles to the north-west. All the boundary villages can thus be satisfactorily identified in the vicinity of Chinchmandal. It is again noteworthy that Chinchmandal lies only about 5 miles to the south of Wadgaon where the plates were found. The river **Hiranyā** is the modern Ērai, which flows from north to south in the Warorā *taluk* and ultimately joins the Wardhā. **Ēkārjunaka** where the donee resided is probably Ajuni on the left bank of the Ērai, about 16 miles north-east of Warorā, the chief town of the Warorā *taluk*.

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्³ दृष्ट(ष्टम्) [।⁴] हिरण्यानदि(दी)वासकादग्निष्टोम(मा)प्तोर्यमोक्थ्यषोडश्या-
(श्य)ति-
- 2 रात्रवाजपेयबृहस्प(स्प)तिसवसद्य स्क्र⁴[व*]तुरश्वमेधयाजिन
- 3 विष्ण(ष्णु)वृ[द्ध]सगोत्रस्य सम्राट्⁵ वाकाटकाना महाराजश्चि(श्री)प्रवरसेन-
- 4 स्य सूनो सूनोरत्यन्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य अस[भा]⁶-
- 5 रसन्निव(वे)शितशिवलि[ङ्गो]दहनशिवसुपर(रि)तुष्टसमुत्पादित[रा]-
- 6 जवशाना(ना)पराक्रम(मा)धिगतभागि(गी)रथ्यमलजलम्(मू)द्ध(र्द्ध)भिषिक्ताना दशा-
- 7 श्वमेधा[व*]भृथस्नाताना भारशिवाना महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य

Second Plate First Side

- 8 गौतमीपुत्रस्य वाक(का)टकाना(ना) महाराजश्चि(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सूनोरत्य-

¹Lines 20-21 of the present plates state that the grant was made in the twentieth year, but this is probably a mistake. Perhaps *pañcha* was omitted before *viśatima* in line 20. What looks like the syllable *ñcha* at the end of the last line may have been part of *pañcha* inserted in the wrong place. It is unlikely that the grant remained unregistered for five years.

²From the facsimiles facing pages 76 and 77, *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVII.

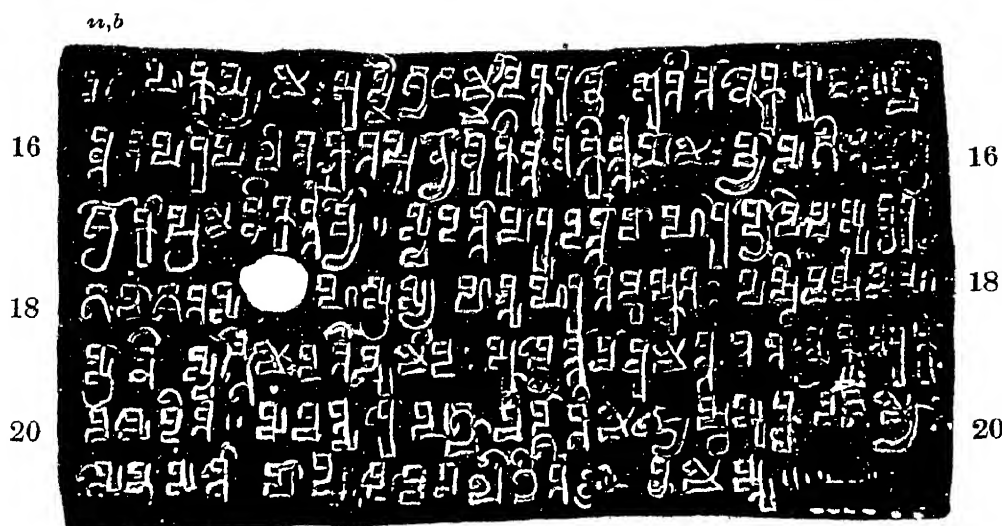
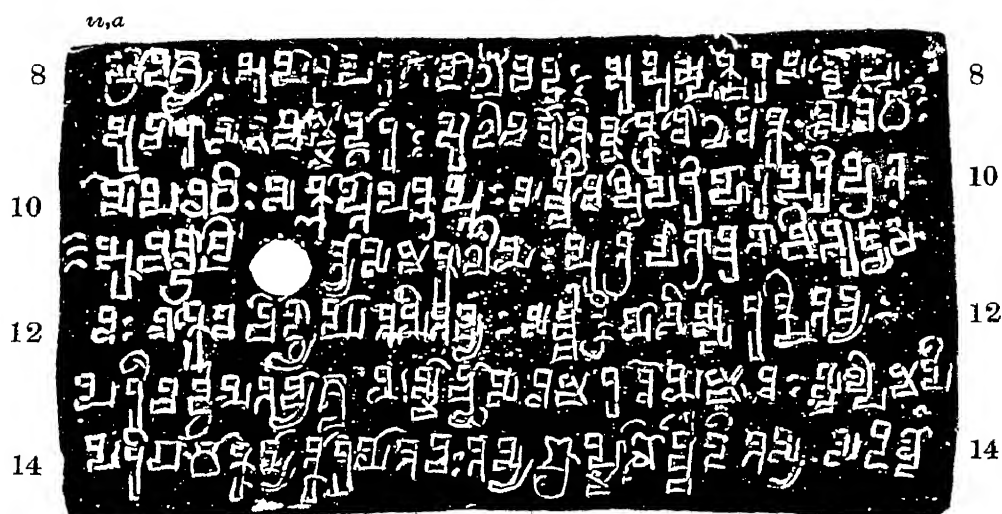
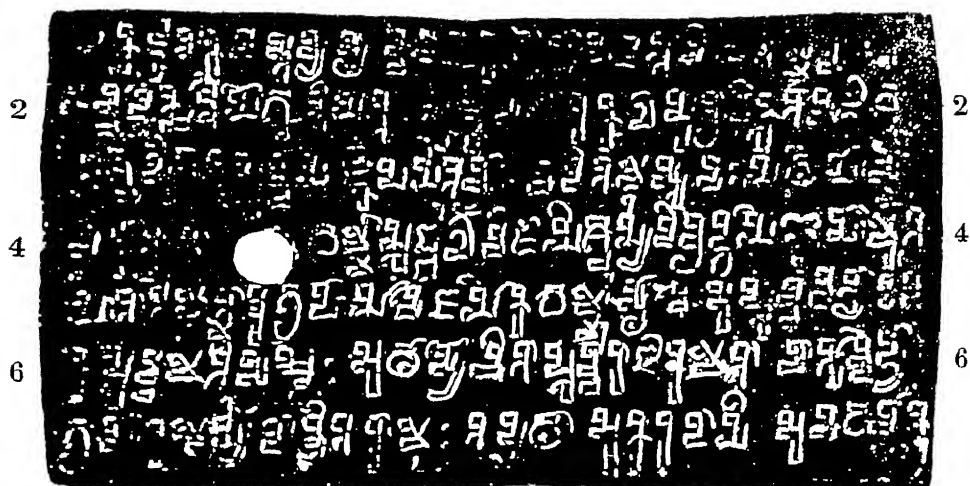
³Expressed by a symbol.

⁴Read साद्यस्क-

⁵Read सम्राज

⁶The engraver at first incised सा, which he after changed into भा

WADGAON PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



22	22
24	24
26	26
28	28

30
 32
 34

36	...	36
38	...	38
40	...	40
42	...	42

- 9 न्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्जव¹कारुण्यशौर्यविक्रमनयविनयम (मा) हात्म्य-
 10 धीमत्य (त्व) पात्रगतभक्तित्वधम्म (म्म) विजयी (यि) त्वमनोनैर्मल्यादिभीगु (भिर्गु) णै
 11 समुप (पे) तस्य वष (ष) शतमभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डा (ण्ड) साधनसन्ता-
 12 नपुत्रपौत्र (त्रि) ण युधीष्ठ (धिष्ठि) रवृत्ते वाकाटकाना महाराजश्री (श्री) पृथि²वी-
 13 षेणस्य सूनोर्भगवत् चक्रप (पा) णे प्रसादोप (पा) ज्जितश्री³ (श्री) समुद-
 14 यस्य व (वा) काटकाना महाराजश्रीर (रु) द्रस (से) नस्य सूनो महाराजा-⁴

Second Plate. Second Side

- 15 धिराजा (ज) श्री (श्री) देवगुप्तसुतायो (या) प्रभावतीगुप्तायामुत्पन्नस्य शा (श) म्भो [']
 16 प्रसादधृति (त) कार्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकानाम्परमाहै (हे) श्वरमहा-
 17 राज (ज) श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त्*] ॥ सुप्रतिष्ठ (ष्ठा) हारे ग्रिदृग्रामस्य⁵
 18 ⁶पूर्वत कदम्बसरकस्य [द] क्ष (क्षि) णत नीलीग्रामस्य प-
 19 श्वमेन (मत) कोकिलारस्य (स्य) उत्तरत वेलुसुकन्नाम ग्राम अत्रस्मा⁷
 20 राजमानेन⁸ भूम (मे) नि (नि) वर्त्तनशतानी (नि) चत्वारि ४०० वीशतीम⁹ स-
 21 वत्सरे विषुववाचनक¹⁰ वाजी (जि) लोहित्या (त्य) सगोत्रस्य

Third Plate First Side

- 22 एकार्जुनकव (वा) स्तव्यस्य¹¹ द्विवेदरुद्राया (य्या) य दत्तानि [१*] यतोस्मत्सन्तका
 23 सर्वाद्धिच (द्धच) क्ष [नि] योगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चार (रि) कुलपुत्राधिकृता भजा (टा) श्छ (श्छा)
 24 त्र (त्रा) श्च विश्रुतपूर्वय¹² ज्ञापयितव्या [१*] विदितमस्तु व यथेहास्मा-
 25 भिरात्मनो धर्मायू (यु) र्बलविजयि (यै) श्वर्य्य [वि] वृद्धये इहामुत्र-
 26 ही (हि) तार्त्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्ता (त्या) [उ] द-
 27 कपूर्वमती (ति) सृष्ट¹³ [१*] अथास्योचिता (ता) पूर्वराजानुमता (ता) चातुर्व्वै (व्वै) द्या-
 28 ग्रहारमर्यादान्वितराम¹⁴ [१*] तद्यथा अकरदायी अभटच्छात्र-

Third Plate Second Side

- 29 प्रावेश्य अपारपरगोबलीवर्द्ध अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह
 30 अचारासनचर्माङ्गार अलवणवली (विल) न्नक्के [ण] (णि) खनक सनि [धि]
 31 सोपन (नि) धि सकलृप्तोपकलृप्त सर्व्वे (वि) ष्टिपरिहारपरिहृत
 32 ¹⁵आचन्द्रादित्या (त्य) कालीय पुत्रपौत्रा [तु] [ता] (गा) मि (मी) भुज्यमा-

¹This *akshara*, which was omitted at first, has been written in a small form

²The medial *z* of this *akshara* has been subsequently shortened

³The engraver at first incised *kn* and subsequently changed it into *śrī*

⁴Just below this word, the *aksharas* *Marade* (dā) s[ē] have been incised, but their proper place seems to be after *Bāppadēvē*, line 42

⁵Read गृध्रग्रामस्य

⁶Just before this word there is the numerical symbol for 2 denoting the number of the plate.

⁷Read एतस्मात्

⁸This *visarga* is redundant.

⁹Read विशत्तितमे This is probably a mistake for पञ्चविशत्तितमे See the regnal year mentioned in line 41.

¹⁰These seven *aksharas* are of a large size and have been incised over others which were carefully beaten in

¹¹Read सगोत्राय and वास्तव्याय so as to make them agree with रुद्राय्याय

¹²Read विश्रुतपूर्वयाज्ञया

¹³This should qualify a word like ग्राम, but the drafter of the record forgot that the object of the grant was four hundred *navartanas* of land, not the whole village

¹⁴Read मर्यादा वितराम

¹⁵Just before this word there is the symbol for 3, denoting the number of the plate.

- 33 न न केनचिद्वचाघातयितव्य सर्व्वक्क्रियाभिस्सरक्षितव्य
 34 परी(रि)वर्द्धय(यि)तव्या(व्य)श्च [1*] यस्माच्छासनमरणयमान¹ स्वल्पामपी(पि)
 35 परिबाधा(धा) कुर्यात्कारयात व² तस्य ब्राम्हणैर्व्वेदी(दि)तस्य सदण्डा(ण्ड)

Fourth Plate

- 36 निग्रह(ह) कुर्य्यम (कुर्य्याम) [1'] अस्मि(स्मि)श्च धर्माद [र'] करणे अतीतानेकराज [दत्त]-
 सञ्चि-
 37 न्तनपरिप(पा)लन(न) कृतपुण्यनुकीर्त्तन³ कीर्त्तयाम [1*] व्यासगीतो(तौ) चात्र
 38 श्रोको(श्लोकौ) प्रमासिकर्त्तव्यौ⁴ स्वदत्ता(त्ता) परदत्ता वा हरेद्यो व वसुन्धराम् [1*]
 39 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हतु⁵र्हरति दुष्कृत(तम्)⁶ [१॥*] षष्टि वर्षसह-
 40 स्रानि(णि) स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्त(न्ता) च त(ता) न्येक(व) नरका(के)
 41 वसेदिति(वसेत् ॥२॥ इति) ॥ सवत्सरे पञ्चवीडशातीम⁷ ज्येष्ठसुकलदशेभ्या⁸
 42 सेन(ना)स(प)तौ बा [प्प]⁹देवे न¹⁰ लीखीत¹¹ [ञ्च]¹² मस्तु¹³॥

TRANSLATION

Success! Seen From the camp on the river **Hiranyā**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas** and a devout worshipper of Maheśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛta-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, (and) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

(For translation of lines 1-14, see above, pp 13-14)

(There is) a village named **Vēlusuka** in the *āhāra* of **Supratishṭha**, which lies to the east of **Gridhragrāma**, to the south of **Kadambasaraka**, to the west of **Niligrāma** and to the north of **Kōkilāra**. From this (*village*) four hundred *navantanas*—(*in figures*) 400—of land by the royal measure have been donated to **Rudrārya** of the *Vāji-Lohitya gōtra*, who resides at **Ēkārjunaka** and who has recited (*the Vedic mantras*) on the occasion of the Equinox (*Vishuva*).

(For translation of lines 22-37, see above, pp 14-15 and p. 32)

The (*following*) two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point —

(Here follow two benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(Line 41). (*This charter has been*) written by **Māradāsa**, while **Bāppadēva** is the *Sēnāpati*, on the **tenth** (*lunar day*) of the **bright** (*fortnight*) or **Jyēshṭha** in the **twenty-fifth** (*regnal*) **year**. May there be happiness!

¹Read योस्मच्छासनमरणयमान

²Read कारयेद्वा

³Read कृतपुण्यानुकीर्त्तनपरिहाराय न

⁴Read प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ

⁵The superscript न् of this *akshara* has been wrongly cancelled Read हन्तु

⁶Metre of this and the next verse—*Amushtubh*

⁷Read पञ्चविंशतितमे

⁸Read शुक्लदशम्याम्

⁹The superscript letter of this conjunct which was *h* has been corrected into *p*.

¹⁰Read मारदासेन. The *aksharas* मारदासे which were inadvertently omitted here were afterwards wrongly incised in the lower right corner below line 14 on the first side of the second plate.

¹¹Read लिखितम् There is an ornamental figure after this word

¹²This is possibly a part of the word पञ्च- omitted before वींशतीम् in line 20 above.

¹³Read सिद्धमस्तु or शुभमस्तु.

PATṬAN PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates were discovered at **Paṭṭan**, a village in the Multāi *tahsil* of the Bētul District in Madhya Pradesh. They were turned up in a field by the plough of a farmer in 1935. They were later acquired for the Central Museum, Nāgpur, where they are now deposited. I edited them with facsimiles in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXIII, pp. 81 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The **copper-plates** are five in number, of which the first and the last are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. Each plate measures 6·9" by 4" and is about 1" in thickness. The ends of the plates are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims for the protection of the writing. About 1·9" from the proper right side of each plate there is a hole, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter, for the ring which originally connected the plates. When the plates reached the Nāgpur Museum, the ring had been straightened and its **seal**, which is a round disc, separated from it. The usual band to which the seal must have been rivetted is not forthcoming now. The weight of the plates is 134 *tōlās* and that of the seal, 8½ *tōlās*. The plates are not now in a good state of preservation. Their surface, which originally was not made quite smooth, has been further damaged by rust. Many letters in the right half of line 45 and most of those in the two following lines have been almost obliterated by friction, but can be read, though with some difficulty, from the traces left on the plate. Each inscribed surface contains six lines, except the first side of the third plate which has only five lines inscribed on it. The seal contains the usual Vākātaka legend in verse, inscribed in four lines.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows.—The medial *ī* (long) is generally denoted by a ringlet in the curve which represents its short form, but in one case (*viz.*, *Bhāgīratthy-*, line 7) by a curve turned in the opposite direction, and in another by a dot in the circle (*cf.* *Śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, line 19); the medial *ō* is cursive in *Lohanagarā-*, line 20; the medial *au* is bipartite everywhere; the subscript *j* and *ḥ* have no notch on the left as in *-ājjava-*, line 10 and *-āyur-bbala*, line 27, a final consonant is indicated by its small form and in some cases by a short horizontal stroke at the top, *cf.* *Pravarapurāl*, line 1, and *dattam*, line 23; the *upadhmānīya* occurs in lines 15, 18, and 35 of the inscription and in line 3 of the legend on the seal. Punctuation is indicated by two or three vertical and somewhat curved lines followed by a dash.

The **language** is Sanskrit. Except for the legend on the seal and the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. It abounds in mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, declension, conjugation, verbal and nominal derivatives etc., most of which must be attributed to the ignorance or carelessness of the writer. As regards mistakes of **orthography**, we may note the use of the short for the long vowel as in *sunoh*, line 4, of *n* for the vowel *ṛi* and of *h* for the vowel *ḥ* as in *Prithvi-* line 14 and *kṣipt-ōpakṣiptaḥ* in line 33, in many cases the rules of *sandhi* have been violated, *cf.* *gunar samuṣṭasya*, line 12, For mistakes of declension, see such forms as *pūrvvāyā*, line 25, and for those of declension see *kārayīta*, line 36, and *kuryyāmah*, line 37. As an instance of wrong verbal derivatives, see *kāāvaka*, lines 46-47 and for that of nominal derivatives, notice

rājaka (for *rajakīya*), line 22 The writer has violated an elementary rule of concord in *in sutāyāh Prabhāvātuguptāyām*, line 17 and of compounding in *mūrdhn-ābhishuktānān-*, line 7. As regards orthographical peculiarities sanctioned by Sanskrit grammar, we may notice that consonant preceding *ṛ* and *ṣ* is doubled in *parākkrama-*, line 6, and *sarvāddhyaksha*, line 24, and that following *ṛ* is similarly reduplicated in *varddhamāna-*, line 13

The inscription, which opens with *dr̥ṣhtam*, is one of the **Vākātaka Mahānāja Pravara-sēna II**. His genealogy is given here as in his other plates, his maternal grandfather being called **Dēvagupta**. The **object** of the present plates, which were issued from **Pravarapura**¹, is to record the grant of 400 *mvartanas* of land, by the royal measure², in the **Aśvatthakhēṭaka** for the maintenance of a *sattrā* or charitable feeding house in honour of the foot-prints of Mahāpurusha (Vishnu)³ The village was situated in the *māṅga* of **Varadākhēṭa** included in the division (*bhōga*) of **Lōhanagara**. The gift was made at the request of **Narāyaṇarāja**. The charter was written on the **seventh day of the dark fortnight of Kārttika** in the **twenty-seventh (regnal) year**. The scribe was **Kālidāsa** who was serving under the *Senāpati* **Kātyāyana**. The record was engraved by the goldsmith **Īśvaradatta**, who was a servant of **Kaundarāja**. It is stated at the end that **Pitāmaha** and **Nanda** caused the charter to be drafted

The present plates furnish the last but one date so far known of Pravarasēna II's reign The mention of Pravarapura as the place of issue shows that the city continued to be the royal capital to the end of his reign Kaundarāja whose servant Īśvaradatta incised the present charter is evidently identical with Kondarāja, the son of Śatrughnarāja, at whose request the grant recorded in the Chammak plates was made⁴

The mention of **Kālidāsa** in the present grant raises the interesting question of his identity with the illustrious Sanskrit poet of that name The latter is generally placed in the Gupta period, but the earliest epigraphical mention of his name occurs in the Aihole *prasasti* of Pulakēśin II, dated Śaka 556 (634 A C)⁵ This is the first time that the name Kālidāsa has been discovered in a record of the Gupta period

Kālidāsa, no doubt, figures only as a scribe in the present grant, but that does not *per se* disprove his identity with the great Sanskrit poet Such charters were generally drafted and written on copper-plates by clerks working in the office of the *Sāndhivigrahika* or Minister for peace and war, but sometimes we find even great officers mentioned as writers of such documents Thus the writer of the Tirōḍī plates of Pravarasēna II was the Chief Minister (*Rājyādhikṛita*) himself⁶ Again, according to a tradition recorded by Rāmadāsa, a commentator of the *Setubandha*, Kālidāsa composed the Prakṛit *kāvya* for Pravarasēna by the order of Vikramāditya⁷ Thus he must have done during his sojourn in Vidarbha The idea of writing the *Mēghadūta* seems to have suggested itself to the poet's mind at Rāmtēk near Nāgpur (Rāmagiri of the *Mēghadūta*), which we know was a holy place visited by the

¹Since the grant was made at the capital, the expression *varjayike dharma-sthānē* occurs in it as it does in other Vākātaka grants made at the capital

²The same expression occurs in the Wadgaon plates (No. 12) See also *Rajamānka* in No. 6, line 18. There may have been local measures called *vishaya-mana* Cf. Sankhēdā plates of Dadda II (C. I. I., Vol. IV, p. 77)

³For a similar grant of a slightly later period, see the Podāgadh inscription, *Ep Ind* Vol. XXI, p. 156 For Mahāpurusha or Mahāpurusha meaning Vishnu, see the *Bhāgavata Purāna*, II, 1, 10, V, 15, 4 and 6, 17, 16-17, VIII, 6, 32, etc

⁴See No. 6, line 19

⁵*Ep Ind*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f

⁶No. 11, line 32

⁷Nirnayasagar Press ed., p. 3, see also the colophon of the last canto

Vākātakas¹ It is not unlikely that while in Vīdarbha, Kālidāsa was attached to the office of the *Sēnāpati* as stated in the present record. He may therefore be identified with the writer of this grant.

But a close examination of the present record shows that this view is untenable. The scribe of the present plates had a very imperfect knowledge of Sanskrit. As pointed out above, there are numerous orthographical and grammatical mistakes, for most of which the writer, not the engraver, must have been responsible. On the other hand, Kālidāsa had a great command over the Sanskrit language. He has emphasised the importance of correct speech in one of his similes², and his works contain fewer instances of solecisms than those of his predecessors and successors. It is incredible that such a great poet as Kālidāsa would commit so many mistakes of orthography, *sandhi*, syntax, nominal and verbal forms, etc., which disfigure the present record. Disappointing as it is, one has to admit that the scribe was only a namesake and a contemporary of, but not identical with, the prince of Sanskrit poets. We may note here that similar names ending in *dāsa* were current in Vīdarbha in the age of the Vākātakas. Thus we know of Namidāsa, a *Sēnāpati*, Chamidāsa, the Chief Minister, as well as the writers Chakradāsa, Gōladāsa and Māradāsa.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Varadākhēta** is probably Warūd in the Mōrsī tahsil of the Amāravatī District, about 12 miles south of Pattan. **Lohanagara**, the headquarters of an ancient division, may be represented by Lonī, about 9 miles south-west of Warūd. The name of the village **Aśvatthakhēta**, in which the donated land was situated, can no longer be traced, its site seems to be occupied by the modern village Pattan. Tradition says that the ancient village, the site of which is now included in Pattan, was turned upside down and buried underground by the curse of a Muslim saint Sulaiman Shah³. Even now when excavations are made, large-size bricks, beads of onyx and old coins are found there, which also shows that the modern village is occupying an old site. It may, again, be noted that Pattan lies on the way from Multāi to Warūd (ancient Varadākhēta), and may, therefore, have been included in the *mārga* (territorial division) of **Varadākhēta**.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 दृष्ट (ष्टम्) [1^{*}] स्वस्ति ॥ प्रवरपुरात् अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्य्यामोक्थ्यषो-
- 2 इश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्कचतुरश्व-
- 3 मेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्⁵ वाकाटका-
- 4 नाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सु(सू)नो सु(सू)नोरत्यन्त्य(न्त)स्वामिम-
- 5 हाभैरवभक्तस्य अन्स⁶भारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्वहनशि-
- 6 वसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवडशाना⁷म्पराक्क्रमाधिगतभा-

Second Plate First Side

- 7 गीरत्थ्या (त्थ्य) मलजलमूर्ध्ना (र्ध्ना) भिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधावभृथस्नाता-

¹No. 8, line 1

²*Kumārasambhava*, canto I, v. 27.

³*Bētul District Gazetteer*, p. 256

⁴From the facsimiles facing pages 86-88 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII

⁵Read सम्राज

⁶Read अस-

⁷Read वशाना-

- 8 नाम्भारशी (शि) वा¹ नाम्महाराजश्रीभवनाग [दौ] हिवस्य गौतमीपु-
 9 त्रपुत्रस्य² वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नोर-
 10 त्यन्त्य(न्त) माहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्जवकारुन्य(ण्य) शौर्यविक्रमन-
 11 यविनयमाहात्म्यधीमत्व(त्त्व) पात्रगतभ [क्तित्व] पात्रगतभ-
 12 क्तित्व³ धर्मविजयित्वमनोनैर्मल्यादिगुणै [*] समुपेतस्य

Second Plate · Second Side

- 13 वर्षशतमभिवर्द्धमानकोणदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौ-
 14 तृ(त्रि)ण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रिथिविसे-
 15 नस्य⁴ सु(सू)नोभंगवतश्चक्रपाणेऽप्रसादोपाज्जितश्रीसमु-
 16 दयस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री[रु]द्रसेनस्य सु(सू)नो-
 17 म्म(र्म)हाराजाधिराजश्रीदेवगुप्तसुताया⁵ प्रभाव[ति]गुप्ता-
 18 यामुत्पन्नस्य शम्भोऽप्रसादधृति⁶ कार्त्तयुगस्य वाकाटकाना

Third Plate · First Side

- 19 म्परममाहेश्वरमहाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य वचना [त्*] ॥
 20 लोहणगराभागे⁷ वरदाखेटमार्गे अश्वस्थ(त्थ) खेटके
 21 सन्नाम्हणपुरोगो ग्रामो वक्तव्य [।*] अत्र ग्रामे रा-
 22 जक्यमानेन⁸ भूमेर्निवर्तनशतानि⁹ चत्वारि महापुरुषपा-
 23 दमूलसत्रोपयोज्य¹⁰ नारायणराजविज्ञाप्येन दत्तम् [।*]

Third Plate · Second Side

- 24 यतोस्मत्सन्तकास्सर्वाद्ध्यक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चा-
 25 रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटा[श्छा]त्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्वा(र्व) याज्ञया-
 26 ज्ञापयितव्या [।*] विदितमस्तु व(वो) यथे(थै) षा¹¹ स्माभिरात्म-
 27 नो धर्मायुर्बलविजयैश्वर्यविवृद्धये इहामुत्रहिता-
 28 र्थमात्मानुग्रहाय वैजयिके धर्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्या(त्या) उदक-
 29 पूर्वम्प्रतिसृष्ट [।*] अथास्योचिताम्पूर्वरा[जा]नु[मता] चातु-

Fourth Plate · First Side

- 30 व्यै(वै)द्याग्रा(ग्र)हारमय्यादान्वितराम¹² [।*] तद्यथा अकरदायी अभट-
 31 च्छ(च्छा)त्रप्रावेश्य अपारपरगोबलिवर्द्ध अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह[।*] अ-

¹ The box at the top of वा is not completely incised

² All other Vākātaka grants discovered so far read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य, thus making the construction ambiguous. The reading in the present plates shows that the adjectival expressions from अत्यन्तस्वामि-महाभैरवभक्तस्य onwards qualify रुद्रसेनस्य

³ This expression is unnecessarily repeated

⁴ Read पृथिवीषेणस्य

⁵ Read सुताया

⁶ Read धृति-

⁷ Read लोहणगरभोगे

⁸ Read राजकीयमानेन

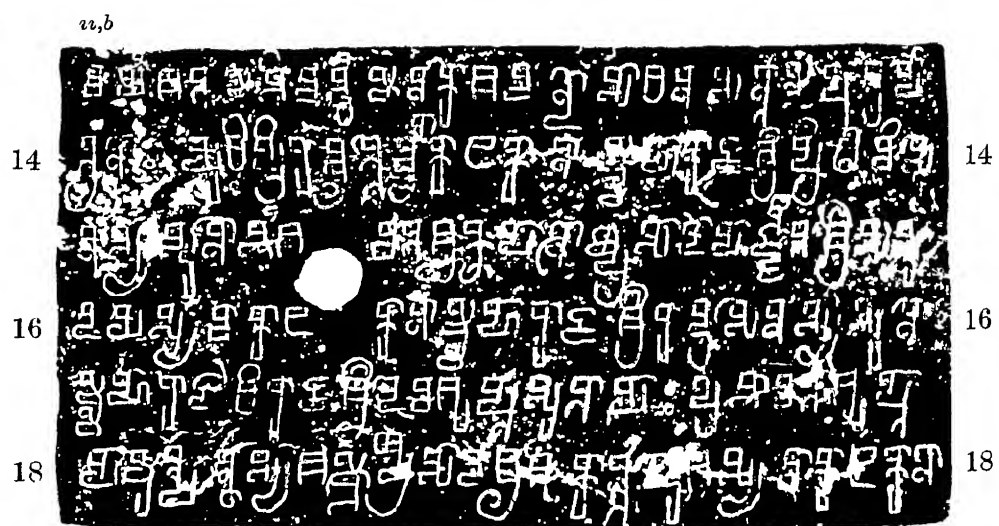
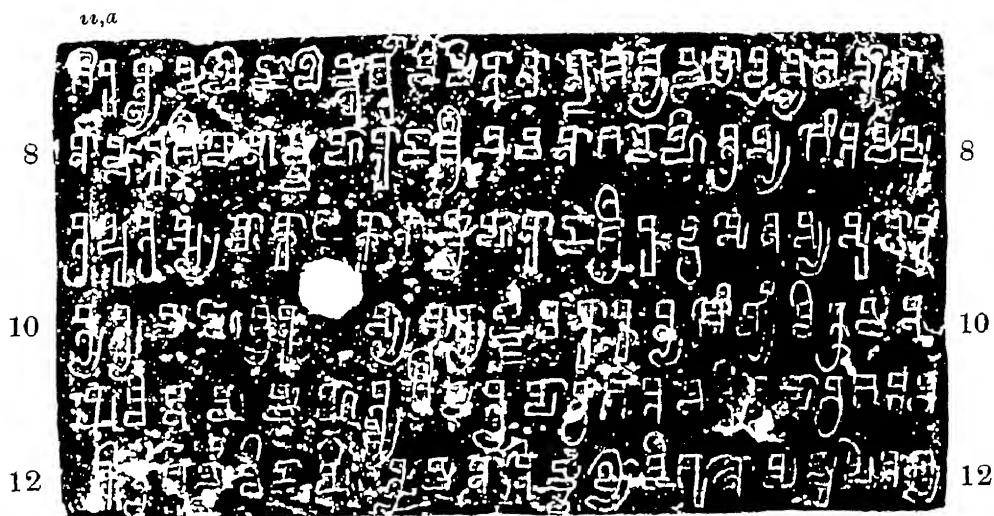
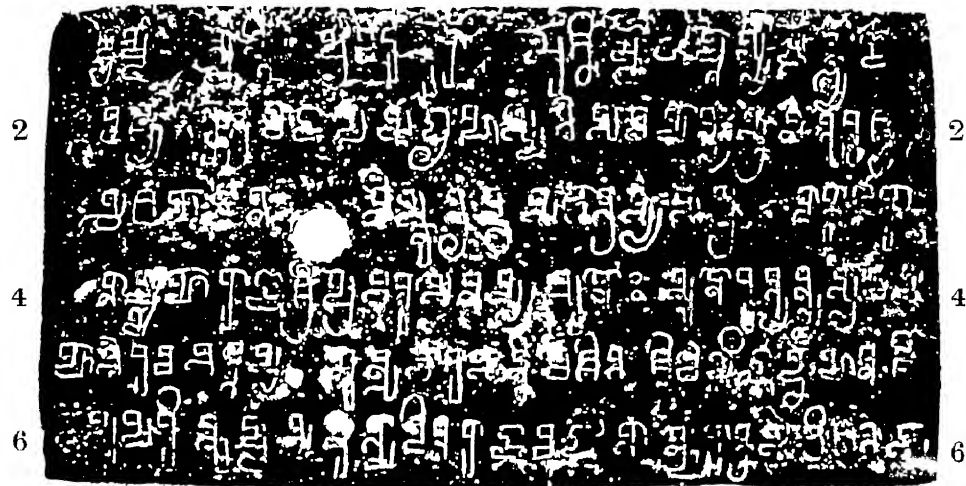
⁹ The engraver has cancelled a redundant stroke on the left of ता

¹⁰ Read प्रयोज्यानि and -विज्ञप्स्या दत्तानि

¹¹ The construction is faulty here. We should have either एषा [भूमि*] प्रतिसृष्टा or एषो[ग्रहार*] प्रतिसृष्ट

¹² Read मय्यादा वितराम. The writer has forgotten that the present grant was made to a temple and not to Brāhmanas versed in the four Vēdas. Notice ब्राह्मणैर्वैदितस्य in lines 36-37 below. Some of the prohibitions and exemptions laid down here are appropriate only in the case of a gift of a whole village.

PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II



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- 32 पा(चा)रासनचर्म्मार्ङ्गार अलवणक्केणिखनक सर्व्ववे(वि)ष्टिपरीहा-
 33 रपरिहृत[*] सनिधि सोपनिधिस्सकिल(क्लृ)प्तोपकिल(क्लृ)प्त आचन्द्रादित्यका-
 34 लीय पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुज्यमान(नो) न केनचिद्व्याघातयितव्य
 35 सर्व्वकृ(त्रि)याभिस्स(स्स)रक्षितव्यऽपरिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [1*] य[श्चा]स्मच्छासनम-

Fourth Plate Second Side

- 36 गणयमान[*] स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा कुर्यात्कारयीत वा¹ तस्य ब्राह्म-
 37 णैर्व्वेदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रह कुर्याम (म) [1*] अस्मिश्च² धर्म्मदिरक-
 38 [र*]णे अतीतानेकराजदत्ता(त्त)सञ्चिन्तनपरिपालन(न) कृतपुन्या(प्या)-
 39 नुकीर्त्तनपरिहारार्थन्न³ कीर्त्तयाम [1*] व्यासगीतौ चात्र श्लोकौ
 40 प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ [1*] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ता व्वा(वा) यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् [1*]
 41 गवा शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृत[म्]⁴ ॥ [१॥*]

Fifth Plate

- 42 षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद[1*] आच्छेत्ता
 43 चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥[२॥*] सात्वत्सरे सप्ताविडशे⁵
 44 कार्तिकबहुलपक्षसप्तम्याम् सेनापतिकात्यायन-
 45 सन्तकेन लिखित(त) कालिदासेन⁶ [1*]⁷ [कौण्डराजसन्तकेन सुव]र्ण-
 46 कार⁸ ईश्वरदत्तेन खात(तम्) ॥ अस्य शासनस्य कारा-
 47 वकौ पितामहनन्दौ ॥

Seal

- 1 वाकाटकल्ल(ल)ल(ला)मस्य
 2 कक्रमप्राप्तनृपश्रिय [1*]
 3 राज्ञऽप्रवरसेनस्य
 4 शासन रिपुशासनम्⁹ ॥

TRANSLATION

Seen Hail! From **Pravarapura**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, and a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛitayuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Mahārājādhirāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, (*and*) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudra-sēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

(For translation of lines 1-16, see above, pp 13-14)

(The residents of) the village led by the Brāhmanas in **Aśvatthakhēta** in the *mārga* of **Varadākhēta** (*included*) in the *bhōga* of **Lōhanagara**, should be addressed as follows:—

¹Read कारयेद्वा

²Read अस्मिश्च

³The *anusvāra* is superfluous

⁴Metre of this and the next verse *Anushtubh*

⁵Read सवत्सरे सप्तविंशे

⁶What looks like a dot in the middle of the circle denoting medial *z* is probably due to a fault in the copper

⁷The letters in the brackets can be read with certainty on the original plate.

⁸Read सुवर्णकारेण

⁹Metre *Anushtubh*

In this village We have donated, at the request of **Nārāyaṇarāja**, four hundred *nivartanas* of land by the royal measure, to be utilised for the charitable feeding house (*attached to the temple of*) Mahāpurusha (Vishṇu).

(*For translation of lines 24-39, see above, pp. 14-15 and p. 32.*)

(Line 39). And the following two verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point:—

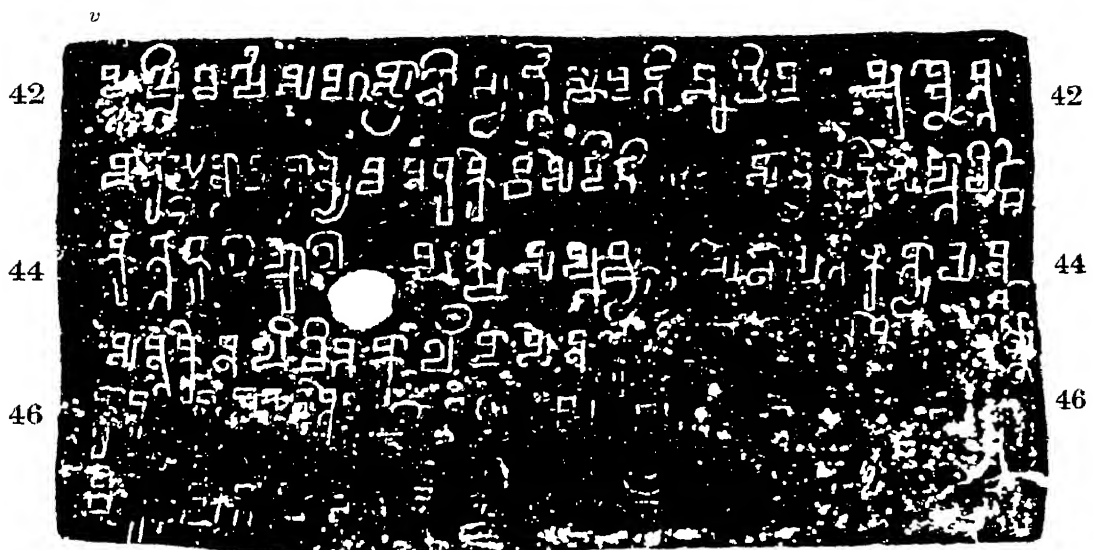
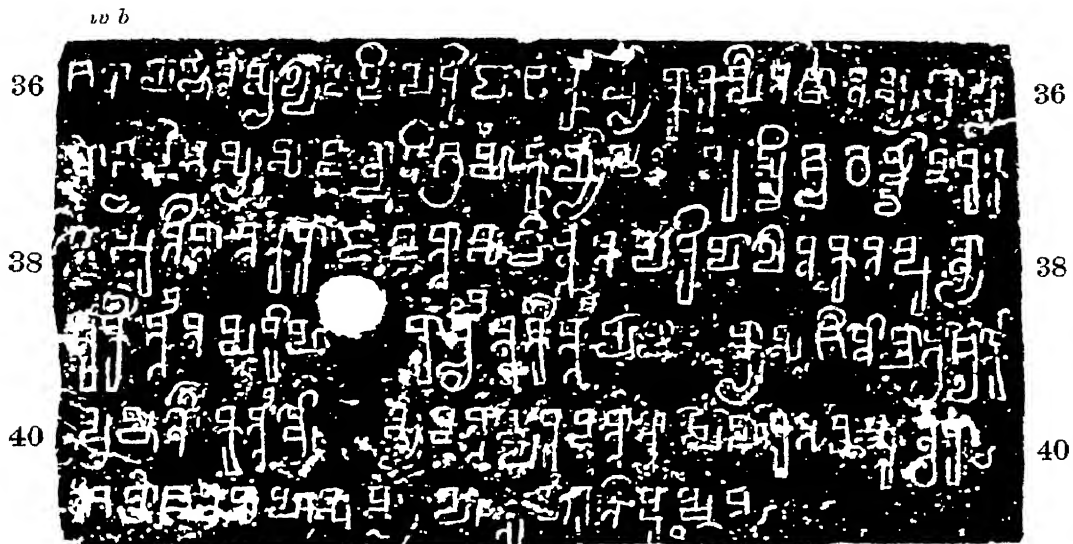
(*Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses.*)

(Line 43). (*This charter has been*) written by **Kālidāsa**, a servant of the *Sēnāpati* **Kātyāyana** on the **seventh** (*lunar day*) in the **dark fortnight** of kārttika in the **twenty-seventh** (*regnal*) year. (*It has been*) engraved by the goldsmith **Īśvaradatta**, a servant of **Kaunḍarāja**. The executors of this (*royal*) charter are **Pitāmaha** and **Nanda**.

Seal

(*For translation of the legend on the seal, see above, p. 27.*)

PATTAN PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



Seal



PĀNDHURNĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THESE plates are said to have been found in 1942 when the old house of one Kadu Patil was being demolished at Tigaon, a village six miles North by West from **Pāndhurnā** on the Itāsi-Nāgpur line of the Central Railway, in the Chhindwārā District of Madhya Pradesh. Later, they reached the hands of Mr M G Karnik, I A S, while he was Deputy Commissioner at Chhindwārā. They were brought to my notice in October 1957 by Mr V. P. Rode, who had seen and deciphered them partially at Mr Karnik's residence. At my request Mr Karnik very kindly allowed Mr Krishna Dev, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, to take their estampages, from which I first deciphered the record. Later, Dr B Ch Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, kindly supplied me with a set of ink impressions which are reproduced here. I have received some help in the decipherment and interpretation of this grant from Mr N L Rao. I am grateful to all these friends who have helped me in one way or another. I edit the record here from the impressions received from Mr Krishna Deva and Dr B Ch. Chhabra.

The **copper-plates** are **five** in number, each measuring 7.5" by 3.7". The first and the last plate are inscribed on one side only and the remaining three on both the sides. The plates have a hole, 5" in diameter, for the ring which strung them together, but neither the ring nor the seal which it must have carried has been found. All the plates are in a good state of preservation. Their weight is 195 *tālās*.

The record consists of 55 lines, which are unevenly distributed on the eight sides of the five plates, some having six and others seven or eight lines inscribed on them. The first two and the last two plates are neatly engraved. The letters on the third plate are, however, carelessly incised. In some places they are imperfectly formed or run into one another. The language of this portion of the record is very faulty and contains some Prakrit words and affixes. This clearly indicates that **this plate is spurious**. It seems to have been substituted for the original third plate of the grant.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety. The following peculiarities may be noted: The medial *ī* (long) is shown either by a dot in a curve as in *-kāliya*, line 42, or by two curves, one inside the other, as in *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* in line 4, the medial *au* is bipartite as in *dauhitasya*, line 8, *t* and *n* are sometimes confused as in *āchchhēntā*, lines 51-52, the letter *l* has generally a short vertical on the right, but sometimes it sharply curves to the left, see *Lākhapallikā* in line 26, the sign of *jhvāmūhya* occurs in line 43 and the **numerical symbols** for 20, 9, 7 and 5 in lines 27, 28, 30, 31 and 53.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and except for two benedictive and imprecatory verses at the end, the whole record is in prose. The portion on the third plate, which, as shown above, is probably spurious, is very carelessly drafted and contains some Prakrit words such as *vatthavva* or *vātthavva* (for *vāstavya*) in lines 28 and 31, and *pānuvisā* or *pānuvisā* (for *pañchavimsati*) in lines 26 and 29. Some of the expressions used in this portion are, again, very obscure; see, e.g. *padannarātri* in line 28 and *nyuttnarātri* in line 31. In other parts the present record does not present any difficulties of interpretation. As regards **orthography**, we may note that a nasal is used for *anusvāra* as in *ansa-*, line 5 and *trnśe*, line 53, *h* is used for the vowel *hi* in *sa-kṛpt-ōpakṛpta* in line 41 and the consonant following *ṛ* is reduplicated as in *abhrvāddhamāna-*, line 13.

The record opens with the word *drishtam* 'seen'. The charter was granted by the **Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II**. His genealogy is given here as in his other grants, his maternal grandfather being called *Rājādhurāja Dēvagupta*. The plates were issued from the temple of **Pravarēśvara**, but the place where this temple was situated has not been mentioned. Pravarēśvara was evidently the name of the Śivalinga installed by the Vākātaka king **Pravarasēna I** and named after himself. The territorial division in which the temple was situated is called Pravarēśvara-shadvimśatī-vātaka in the Bēlorā plates (two sets), issued in the early part of Pravarasēna II's reign. Its exact location cannot be determined, but it was probably situated in the Wardhā District.

The present grant is **dated**, in line 53, on the **tenth tithi of the dark fortnight of Vaisākha** in the **twenty-ninth** regnal **year** of Pravarasēna II. It is the last known grant of this king. It was written by **Āchārya**¹ while **Mādhappa** was the *Sēnāpati*.

The **object** of the present inscription was to record the gift of two thousand *nvartanas* of land in the village **Dhuvavātaka** included in the territorial division of **Vāruchcharājya**, to several Brāhmanas of different *Charanas* (*śākhās*) and *gotras*. Only four of them viz Yajñārya, Bhōjārya, Sōmārya and Dharmārya are mentioned by name. All of them belonged to the *Vājasanēya* or White *Yajurvēda*, and the first three of them are explicitly stated to be of Kaundinya *gōtra*. The villages **Brāhmaṇavātaka**, **Ajakarna**, **Badarīgrāma** and **Darbhapatha** are mentioned while stating the boundaries of Dhuvavātaka. This donated land was given in exchange for another village named **Vijayapallivātaka**² which had been previously gifted by Prithivīrāja i.e. by Prithivīśhēna I. In the spurious third plate which was inserted in the charter later, two other gifts of twenty-five *nvartanas* each, together with an additional *nvartana* for building a residential house, are recorded on the occasion of *tilavāchanaka* (i.e. a *śrāddha*) in favour of the Brāhmana **Sōmārya**, who was one of the donees of the original grant and resided at **Kāllāra**. The first piece of land was situated in the village of **Lēkhapallikā** and the second in that of **Sanigamikā**, both being included in the territorial division called **Ārammirājya**.

Both these gifts purport to have been made in the same regnal year as the original grant, viz. the twenty-ninth, but the first was given on the seventh day of the fifth fortnight, and the second on the ninth day of the seventh fortnight of the rainy season. It will be noticed that this method of recording a gift in a season, a fortnight and a day is different from that used in line 53 while registering the original gift viz. by citing a month, a bright or dark fortnight and a *tithi*. Such season dates occur only in two other Vākātaka inscriptions viz. the Bāsim plates³ of Vindhyaśakti II and the Dudiā plates⁴ of Pravarasēna II. This difference in dating the two gifts adds to the suspicion about the genuineness of the third plate in which they are recorded. It seems plain that the Brāhmana Sōmārya, in whose favour they are said to have been made, got the third plate prepared and engraved, and surreptitiously inserted it in the original charter.

As for the **localities** mentioned in this grant, **Vijayapallivātaka** may be Byagōrā on the left bank of the Kanhān, about four miles to the north of the Multāi-Chhindwārā road. **Vāruchcha**, the headquarters of the **Vāruchcha-rājya**, may be Vārēgaon, about four miles west of Pāndhurnā. The village **Dhuvavātaka**, in which the donated land was situated, cannot now be traced, but two of its boundary villages still exist in the neighbourhood

¹Achārya was the scribe of the Siwanī plates (No. 7) also.

²For another such exchange, see No. 15, lines 6-7.

³No. 23, line 28 and 29.

⁴No. 10, line 28.

of Ṭigaon Thus **Badarigrāma** may be modern Bōrgaon which lies about two miles to the north, and **Ajakarna** may be the same as Ajangaon, about four miles south by east of Ṭigaon The two villages **Lēkhapallika** and **Sangamika** mentioned in the spurious third plate as situated in the territorial division of **Ārammi-rājya** may be identical with Lākhāpur near Chikhali on the Multāi-Chhindwārā road, and Sangam near the confluence of the rivers Kanhān and Bel **Ārammi**, the headquarters of the territorial division in which they were situated, may be identical with Āmlā, a station on the Itārsi-Nāgpur line of the Central Railway Ārammirājya is also mentioned in the Dudiā plates¹ which, again, were found in the Chhindwārā District **Kāllāra** where the Brāhmana Sōmārya was residing may be Khērli, about 13 miles north of Multāi The other places cannot be identified

TEST²

First Plate

- 1 दृष्टम् [।*] प्रवरेश्वरदेवकुलस्थानात् [।*] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्य-
- 2 षोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्य च क³[च*]-
- 3 तुरश्य(श्व)म(मे)धि(ध)याजिन⁴ विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रस्य सम्राट्⁵ वाका-
- 4 टकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूना सून⁶ अत्य-
- 5 न्तस्वामिमहाभैरवभक्तस्य।⁷ अन्स⁸भारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गा(ङ्गो)-
- 6 द्रहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवन्शानाम्⁹ पराक्रमा-
- 7 [धि]गतभागीरथ्यामल¹⁰जलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्ताना दशाश्वमेधाव-

Second Plate: First Side

- 8 वभृथस्नाताना(ना) महाराजश्री(श्री)भवणे(ना)गदौहित्रस्य गौत-
- 9 मीपुत्रस्य¹¹ वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीरुद्रसेनस्य सूनो[]
- 10 अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्यज्जव¹²कारुण्यशौर्यविक्रम-
- 11 नयविनयमाहात्म्यधिमत्त्वपात्रगत¹³धर्मविज-
- 12 यित्वमनोनैर्मर्त्यादिगुणसमुदितस्य वर्षशत-¹⁴
- 13 मभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्रपौत्रिण[.*]
- 14 युधिष्ठिरवृत्ते वाकाटकाना(ना) महाराजपृथिविसे-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 15 णस्य¹⁵ सूनो भगवतश्चक्रपाण(णे) प्रसादोपा[ज्जि]त[श्री]-
- 16 समुदयस्य वाकाटकान(ना) महाराजश्री(श्री)रुद्रसेनस्य सुनो¹⁶ सु[नो]

¹No. 10, line 13

²From ink-impressions supplied by Mr Krishna Dev and Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra.

³Read साद्यस्क-

⁴Here and in several places below, the rules of *sandhi* have not been observed.

⁵Read सम्राजो

⁶Read सूनो सूनो.

⁷This mark of punctuation is redundant.

⁸Read अस-

⁹Read वशानाम्-

¹⁰Read भागीरथ्यामल-

¹¹Read गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य as in other cognate grants.

¹²Read सत्याज्जव-

¹³Read माहात्म्यधीमत्त्वपात्रगतभक्तित्व-

¹⁴Read वर्षशत-

¹⁵Read पृथिवीषेणस्य

¹⁶Read सूनो. The following word is redundant.

- 17 राजाधिराज¹श्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुताया(या) प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पन्न-
 18 न्न²स्य शम्भो. प्रस(सा)दधृति(त)कार्त्युगस्य वाकाटकाना(ना)महा-
 19 र(रा)जश्रि(श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य वचन(ना)त् पृथिविराजप्रवृत्तस्य³
 20 विजयपल्लीवाटकस्य प्रतिवस्तु वारुच्चराज्ये [धु]ववास(ट)क(के)
 21 ब्राह्मणवाटक ग्रामस्यापरपार्श्वे⁴ गत्ताया⁵ अजकर्णग्र(ग्रा)मपथस्य
 22 उत्तरेण बदरि(री)ग्रामपूर्व्वेण दभापथस्य परेण⁶ एषाम्मध्ये भूमे[*]

Thrd Plate: First Side

- 23 सहस्रा[णि]⁷ द्वे राजक्यमानेन⁸ नानागोत्रचरणेभ्यो⁹ दत्तानि¹⁰ । तत्र प्रतिग्राहका-
 24 स्तद्यथा वाजिकौण्डिन्यसगोत्रयज्ञार्यभोजार्यवाजिकौण्डिन्यसगोत्र-
 25 सोमार्यवाजिधर्म(मर्मा)र्य एतप्र(त्प्र)मुखाना(णा) ब्राम्हना(णा)ना दत्त(तम्) [1*]
 26 आरम्मिराज्यलेखपल्लिकाए(या) रायक्यमानेन¹¹ भूमि पाणुविसा¹² निवे[शन]-
 27 निवत्तणेन¹³ सह [चे]हामुष्मिके धर्मस्थाने तिलवाचनके सव्वस्तरे¹⁴ २० ९
 28 वास¹⁵ ५ दिव¹⁶ पदन्नराति¹⁷ २० काल्लारवत्थव्व¹⁸ वाजिकौण्डिन्यसोमार्यस्य दत्ता [1*]

Thrd Plate. Second Side

- 29 आरम्मिरज्ज¹⁹ सङ्गविकाए²⁰ राजक्यमानेन²¹ भूमि पाणुविसा²² निवेशननिवत्तने-
 30 न²³ सह चेहामुष्मिके धर्मस्थाने तिलवाचनके ज(च) सव्व²⁴ २० ९ वास²⁵ [७] दिव²⁶ ९
 31 सवत्त²⁷ जात व[षा] ७ दिवस²⁸ ५ निजुत्तिनराति²⁹ २० काल्लारवात्थव्व³⁰ वाजिकौण्डिन्य-
 32 सगोत्रसोमार्यस्य दत्त³¹ [1*] यतोस्मस(त्स)न्तका[*] सर्वाद्धक्षनियोगन(नि)युक्ता[*]
 33 आज्ञासच(चा)रिकुलपुत्राधिकृता भटाश्छात्राश्च विश्रुतपूर्व्वज्ञाज्ञाप[इ](यि)

¹In other Vākāṭaka grants this title is mentioned as महाराजाधिराज

²This *akshara* is redundant

³Read पृथिवीराजप्रदत्तस्य

⁴Read ब्राह्मणवाटकग्रामस्यापरपार्श्वे

⁵Read गत्ताया.

⁶Read दर्भपथस्यापरेण

⁷Read सहस्रे

⁸Read राजमानेन

⁹Read ब्राह्मणेभ्यो after नानागोत्रचरणेभ्यो

¹⁰Read दत्ते (qualifying सहस्रे द्वे in this very line)

¹¹Read राजमानेन

¹²Read भूमे पञ्चविंशति.

¹³Read निवेशननिवर्तनेन सह

¹⁴Read सवत्सरे

¹⁵Read वर्षापक्षे

¹⁶Read दिवसे

¹⁷The meaning of this is not clear to me

¹⁸Read वास्तव्य-

¹⁹Read आरम्मिराज्ये

²⁰Read सगमिकाया

²¹Read राजमानेन

²²Read भूमे पञ्चविंशति

²³Read निवेशननिवर्तनेन

²⁴Read सवत्सरे

²⁵Read वर्षापक्षे

²⁶Read दिवसे

²⁷Read सवत्सरे-

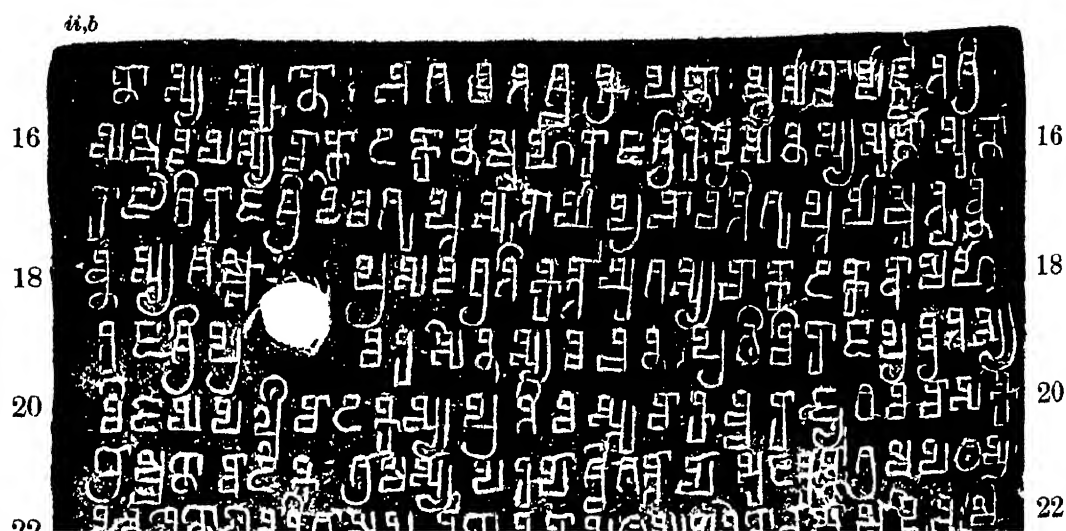
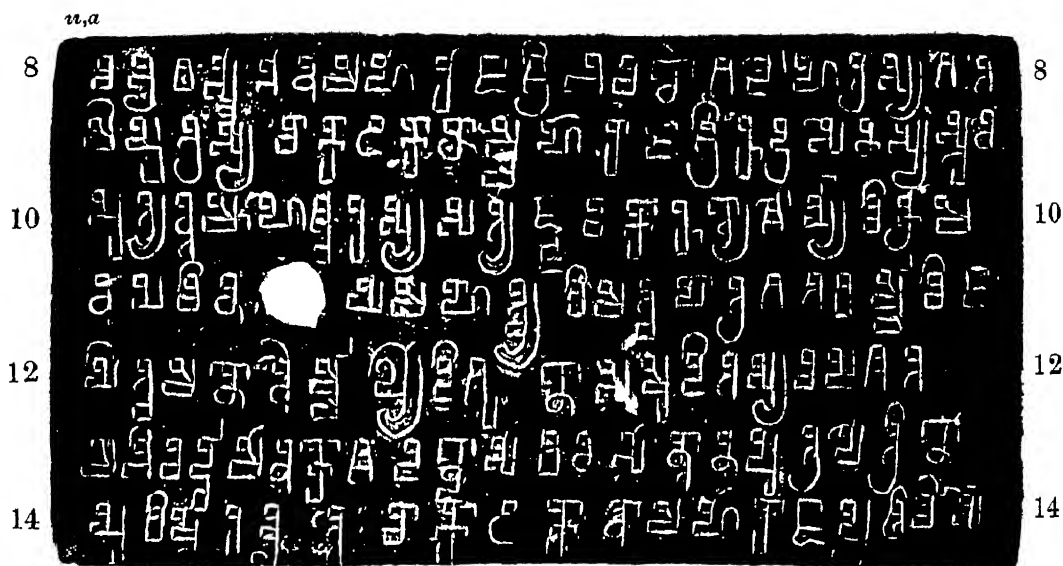
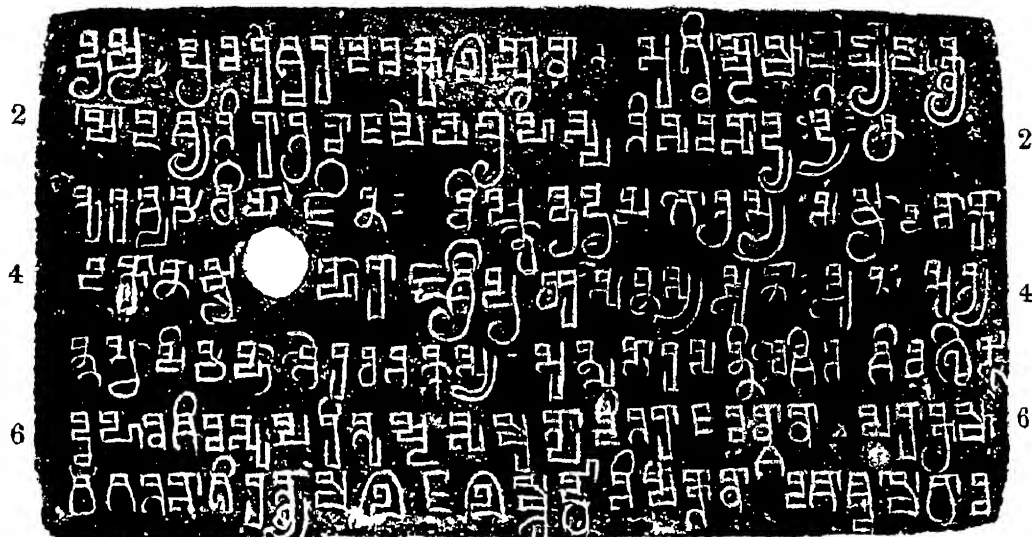
²⁸This date appears superfluous

²⁹The meaning of this is not clear to me.

³⁰Read वास्तव्य-

³¹Read दत्ता (qualifying भूमि: in line 29 above).

PĀNDHURNĀ PLATES OF PRAVARASĒNA II



PANDHURNA PLATES OF PRAVARASENA II

iii, a

24 24
26 26
28 28

iii, b

30 30
32 32
34 34

iv, a

36 36
38 38
40 40

34 व्या[. *]¹ व (वि) दितमस्तु व (व) यथेहास्मामि धर्म्मयुर्बलविजये (य) विवृध (द्ध) ये इहामुत्र-

Fourth Plate • First Side

35 हितात्थमात्म (त्मा) नुग्रहाय वैजयै (यि) के धर्म्मस्थाने अपूर्वदत्ता (त्या)
 36 उदकपूर्वमत्तिसृष्ट² [1*] अथोचिताश्च पूर्वराजानुम-
 37 ता [*] चातुर्वेद्यग्राममय्यादाम्परिहारार्थ³ कीर्त्तयाम⁴ [1*]
 38 अकरदायि⁵ अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य⁶ अपार (रं) परगो-
 39 बलिवर्द्ध [*] अपुष्पक्षीरसन्दोह [*] अच (चा) रासनचर्म्मङ्गा-
 40 र [*] अलवणकिलन्नक्रेनि (णि) खनक [*] सर्ववे (वि) ष्टिपरिहारपरिहृ-
 41 त [*] सनिधि [*] सोपनिधि [*] सकिलप्तोपकिल [प्त] [*]⁷ आचन्द्रादित्थ (त्य) -

Fourth Plate • Second Side

42 कालीय [*] पुत्रपौत्रानुगामी भुञ्जता न केनचित्त्व्या (द्व्या) घा-
 43 तः कर्त्तव्य [*] सर्वक्रियाभि [*] स (स) रक्षितव्य [*] परिवर्द्धयित-
 44 व्यश्च [1*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगणभ्रमानो (न) स्वल्पामपि प-
 45 रिबाधा (धा) कुर्यात् कारयीत वा⁸ तस्य ब्राह्मणैर्वेदित-
 46 स्य सदण्डनिग्रह (ह) कुर्याम [1*] अस्मि (स्मि) श्च धर्मादिरकरणे
 47 अति (ती) तान (ने) कराजदन्ता (त्त) स [ञ्चि] त (न्त) नपरिपालन (न) कृतपुण्यानुकि (की) -
 48 तनपरिहारार्थ (र्थ) न कीर्त्तयाम [*] [1*] वा (व्या) सगीतो (तौ) चात्र

Fifth Plate

49 श्लोकौ प्रमाणीकर्त्तव्यौ [1*] स्वदत्ता (त्ता) परदन्ता (त्ता) [वा] यो हरेत व-
 50 सुन्धराम् [1*] गवा (वा) शतसहस्रस्य हन्तुर्हरति दुष्कृतम्⁹ [॥ १ ॥*]
 51 षष्ठी (ष्टि) वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गो मोदति भूमिद [1*] आच्छे-
 52 न्ता (त्ता) चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति ॥ [२ ॥*] सावत्सर ए-
 53 कुणत्रिंशे¹⁰ २० ९ वैशाखमासस्य कृष्णपक्षे दशम्य (म्या) म्
 54 लिखित सेनापतौ माधप्ये । मा प्यसन्तकेन
 55 लिखितमायार्येण¹¹ ।

TRANSLATION

Seen From the place of the **temple of Pravaraśvara**—

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, who, by the grace of Śambhu, has established the *Kṛta-yuga* (Golden Age) (*on the earth*), who was born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, the daughter of the *Rājādhuāja*, the illustrious **Dēvagupta**, (*and*) who is the son of the illustrious **Rudrasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

¹ Read विश्रुतपूर्वाज्ञियाज्ञापयितव्या

² Read -मत्तिसृष्टा if it has to qualify some word like भूमि

³ Read चातुर्विद्यग्राममय्यादा परिहारार्थ

⁴ Read कीर्त्तयाम

⁵ Read अकरदायी

⁶ Read अभटच्छत्रप्रावेश्य These expressions, which qualify some word like ग्राम, are really inapplicable here as the object of the gift is some land and not a village.

⁷ Read सकलुप्तोपकलुप्त

⁸ Read कारयेद्वा.

⁹ Metre of this and the following verse • *Anushtubh*

¹⁰ Read सवत्सरे एकोनत्रिंशे

¹¹ लिखित is unnecessarily repeated Read आचार्येण. Āchārya is mentioned as the scribe in line 35 of the Siwani plates (No. 7) also

(For translation of lines 1 to 19, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 19) In exchange for **Vijayapallivātaka** granted by **Prithivīrāja**¹, land, measuring two thousand *nvartanas* by the royal measure in (the village) **Dhuvavātaka**, situated in (the territorial division called) **Vāruchcha-rājya** which lies in the low ground by the western boundary of the village **Brāhmanavātaka**, to the north of the way to the village **Ajakarna**, to the east of the village **Badarī** and to the west of (the village) **Darbhapatha**, has been donated (by Us) to Brāhmanas of various *gōtras* and *charaṇas*

(Line 23) The recipients (of the gift) are as follows — (This land) has been donated to Brāhmanas, the foremost of whom are **Yajñārya** and **Bhojārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and the Kaundinya *gōtra*, **Sōmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and Kaundinya *gōtra*, and **Dharmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*)

(Line 26) Further, here at the place of religious worship (for Our well-being) in this and the other world at the recitation (of sacred texts) accompanied by a libation of sesamum seeds², on the **7th day** in the **5th** (fortnight) of the **29th** (regnal) **year**³, land measuring twenty-five *nvartanas* by the royal measure together with a *nvartana* for residence, situated in the village **Lēkhapallika** included in (the territorial division) **Ārammi-rājya**, has been donated to **Sōmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and the Kaundinya *gōtra*, residing at **Kallāra**.

(Line 29) Again, here at the place of religious worship (for Our well-being) in this and the other world, at the recitation (of sacred texts), accompanied by (a libation of) sesamum seeds, on the **9th day** in the **7th** (fortnight of) the **rainy season** in the (regnal) **year 29**⁴, land measuring twenty-five *nvartanas* together with a *nvartana* for residence, situated in (the village) **Saṅgamikā** in (the territorial division) **Ārammi-rājya**, has been donated to **Sōmārya** of the Vājasanēya (*śākhā*) and the Kaundinya *gōtra*, residing at **Kallāra**.

(Line 32) Wherefore, Our officers of noble birth, who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (Our) command, (Our) soldiers and policemen should be directed by the following command which is well-known (to them).—

“Be it known to you that in order to increase (Our) religious merit, power and victory and to secure (Our) well-being in this world and the next, (the aforementioned land) has been donated as a gift not previously made, with the pouring out of water at our victorious place of religious worship

(For translation of lines 36 to 48, see above, pp 14-15 and p. 32)

(Line 48) And the following verses sung by Vyāsa should be regarded as authoritative on this point —

(Here occur two benedictive and imprecatory verses)

(Line 52) (This charter) has been written by **Āchārya**, a servant of **Mādhappa**, on the **tenth** (*tithi*) of the **dark fortnight of the month Vaiśākha in the twenty-ninth** (in figures) **20** (and) **9-year**, **Mādhappa** being the *Sēnāpati*

¹ *I.e.*, by Prithivīshēna I

² *I.e.*, at a *śrāddha*

³ Line 20 contains the word *padannarātri* followed by 20, the meaning of which is not clear to me.

⁴ Line 31 contains another date and the word *nyuttanarātri* followed by 20, the significance of which is not clear to me

Plate XIV (Contd.)

iv, b

42	42
44	44
46	46
48	48

50 50

52 52

54 54

PĀTNĀ MUSEUM PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THIS plate was first brought to notice by Dr A S Altekar, who edited it without facsimiles in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol XIV, pp. 465 f. Its exact find-spot was long unknown. In his introductory remarks Dr Altekar stated that it was found 'somewhere in the Central Provinces'. Dr K P Jayaswal remarked in his *History of India, 150 A D to 350 A D*, p 74, that it came from Jabalpur. Dr Hiralal thought, on the other hand, that the present plate belonged to the set of three or four plates found near Rāmtēk in Vidarbha, most of which are now missing¹. The present plate records the grant of a village and mentions its boundaries on all sides, but in the absence of definite information about its provenance none of the places could be satisfactorily identified. After a good deal of correspondence in 1936, I succeeded in settling the provenance of the plate, which enabled me to identify the places mentioned in it. I published a note on it in the *Journal of the Nagpur University*, No II, pp 48 f. I edit it here from an excellent facsimile of it, which I owe to the courtesy of the late Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, Curator of the Pātnā Museum.

From the information supplied by Dr P N Sen of Narsinghpur it seems that the plate was discovered in about 1919, while digging the foundation of the bungalow (or one of its out-houses) of the District Superintendent of Police at **Balāghāt**. Dr P N Sen, who was then Civil Surgeon at Bālāghāt, received the present plate from the District Superintendent of Police (whose name he could not recollect), and sent it to his brother Rai Bahadur Manmath Nath Sen. Dr Sen does not know what became of the other plates of the set. Mr M N Sen who was then Sub-divisional Officer at Jamātrā, Santāl Parganā, presented it to the Pātnā Museum through the Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Central Circle, Pātnā. It has since then been deposited in that Museum.

'The **plate** measures about 7.25" by 4.2" at the ends, the length is, however, 7.5" in the middle. The thickness is 1". It is quite smooth and nicely preserved, hardly a single letter has been damaged. Its edges are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. Letters are distinct, but not very deep, so that they do not show through on the reverse. The engraving is good... Towards the proper right of the plate, about an inch from the centre, there is a hole about .35" in diameter. It was obviously intended for the ring to pass through, which must have for a long time connected this plate with the remaining ones of the set. The weight of the plates is 30 *tōlās*².

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble those of the other grants of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities that need be noted here are as follows —The rare initial *ai* occurs in *aihk-*, line 7, and the subscript *jh* in *Madhukajjharīyā* in line 4. The medial *i* (short) is turned to the right in *kuṭumbīnō*, line 5, the medial *au* is bipartite as in *Kaundīnya*, line 8; *ḍ* and *d* are clearly distinguished, *th* is shown with a ringlet at the bottom as in *Millukadratha-*, line 3. The **language** is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose. As regards **orthography**, the only peculiarity noticed

¹*I.C.P.B.I.*, p 5.

²*J.B.O.R.S.*, Vol XIV, pp. 465-66

is the reduplication of the consonant following *ṛ* as in *-māṅggē*, line 3. The *visaṅga* is incorrectly omitted in several places. The *upadhmānīya* occurs in line 6.

The present plate is probably the **third plate** of a set of four or five plates. As in other grants of Pravarasēna II, the first two plates must have contained the name of the place of issue and the genealogy of the donor. The record on the present plate commences with the description of **Pravarasēna II** as the son of **Prabhāvatīguptā** and as one who carried the *śūla* obtained by the favour of (the god) Śambhu. This is the only grant of Pravarasēna II in which he is described in this manner, the usual expression being *Sambhōh prasāda-dhṛiti(ta)-Kārtayugasya* meaning that he had established the *Kṛita-yuga* or the Golden Age on the earth by the grace of the god Śambhu¹. The expression in the present plate makes a better sense and recalls a similar description of the Bhāraśivas that their royal family was created by the god Śiva, who was pleased by their carrying his *linga* (or emblem such as *triśūla*) on their shoulders.

The **object** of the present plate is to record the grant, by the **Vākāṭaka Mahānāja Pravarasēna II**, of the village **Śrīparṇakā** to three Brāhmanas, *viz*, Gangārya, son of Vēdārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Vasurārya of the Kaundinya *gōtra* and Rudrārya of the Taittirīya *śākhā* and Kaundinya *gōtra*. The donated village was situated in the *mārga* of **Sundhāti** and lay to the east of **Brahmapuraka**, to the west of **Millukadratha**, to the north of **Madhukajjharī** and to the south of **Darbhaviraka**. The grant was made in exchange for the previous gift of the village **Māṇapallikā** which was situated on the *mārga* of **Yaśapura**. The reason which necessitated this exchange is not stated. As in the Siwanī plates², the village granted is described as *sa-pañchāśatka*, the meaning of which is uncertain. Fleet doubtfully suggested that the expression possibly meant 'with fifty hamlets'. This does not appear to be correct. Dr. Altekar thinks that it indicates some fiscal privilege³. Perhaps it means 'together with the sales tax amounting to one-fiftieth of the sale price'⁴.

It is noteworthy that the grant was made by Pravarasēna II for the accumulation of religious merit and for (well-being in) this world and the next of his mother (*mātṛi-bhaṭṭārikā*). This shows that the present plate does not belong to the same set as the Rāmtēk plate⁵, for the latter records a grant made by Pravarasēna II for the increase of his own religious merit, life, strength and prosperity as well as for his well-being in this world and the next. The extant portion mentions no date.

As for the **places** mentioned in the present plates, Dr. Altekar thought that **Brahmapuraka** was the same village which was gifted by Pravarasēna II by his Siwanī plates⁶. He identified it with Brāhmanawādā near Achalpur. This identification is not correct, for Brahmapuraka mentioned in the Siwanī plates was situated in the Bennākārparabhōga which, as we have seen, comprised the territory in the vicinity of the Beṇṇā or Wangangā⁷. It could not have been situated so far in west in the Achalpur *taluk* of the Amarāvati District. Dr. Altekar's identification of **Madhukajjharī** with the Madhunadī mentioned in the Chammak plates cannot also be accepted for the same reason. As the plates were discovered at Bālāghāt, we must search for the places mentioned in them in the vicinity of that town.

¹See, e.g., No. 3, lines 15-16.

²No. 7, line 20.

³*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 475.

⁴Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, VII, 130. पञ्चाशद्भाग आदेयो राज्ञा पशुहिरण्ययोः ।

⁵See No. 16, lines 2-3.

⁶*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 472.

⁷*J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XIV, p. 472.

PĀTNĀ MUSEUM PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II

iii,a



iii,b



I have been able to identify some of them with the help of detailed Survey maps **Brahmapuraka** is probably Bahmanī, about 12 miles north by west of Bālāghāt It lies on the road which connects Lālburrā with Samnāpur The latter may represent ancient **Sundhā** or **Sundhāpura**. **Madhukajjharī** is probably Murjhar, about 3 miles south-east of Bahmanī, and **Millukadratha**, modern Mugardarā, 2 miles north by east of Bahmanī Nothing corresponding to **Śrīparnakā** can be traced in the vicinity of these places, but it was probably situated between Bahmanī and Mugardarā **Darbhaviraka** cannot now be traced

It will thus be seen that like the villages named in the Tīrōdī plates¹, the villages mentioned in the present grant can be traced in the Bālāghāt District As shown elsewhere, the villages mentioned in the Siwanī plates can be located in the Bhandārā District² These identifications show that the country under the direct rule of Pravarasēna II comprised the modern districts of Bālāghāt and Bhandārā and extended to the western boundary of Dakshina Kōsala

TEXT³*Third Plate. First Side*

- 1 प्रभावति⁴गुप्तायास्समुत्पन्नस्य⁵ शम्भो [*] प्रसादधृति(त)शूल(ला)यु-
- 2 धस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्री(श्री)प्रवरसेनस्य वचना[त्*] सुन्धाति-
- 3 मार्गे ब्रह्मपुरकस्य पूर्वत[*] मल्लुकद्रथस्यापरत[*]
- 4 मधुकज्झर्या[*] चोत्तरत[] दर्भविरकस्या(स्य) दक्षिणत[*] श्रीपर्णका
- 5 नाम्न(म्ना) ग्राम तत्र कुटुम्बिनो ग्रामवासिनश्च वक्तव्या[*]

Third Plate. Second Side

- 6 यथास्माभि यशपुरे मार्गे⁶ माणपल्लिकायाःपूर्वपरिग्र-
- 7 हप्रतिवस्तु मातृभट्टारिकाना(णा) पुण्योपचये ऐहिकामुष्मि⁷-
- 8 भारद्वाजसगोत्रवेदार्यपुत्रगङ्गाय्य-कौण्डिन्य(न्य)सगो-
- 9 त्रवसुरार्यस्य⁸ कौण्डिन्य(न्य)तैत्तिरिक्(रीय)रुद्रार्याण(णा) समीमान्त-
- 10 परिच्छेदेन सपञ्चाशको(त्को) ग्रामो दत्त(त्त ॥)

TRANSLATION

(The first two plates of this grant are not forthcoming)

By the order of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, born of **Prabhāvatīguptā**, who, by the grace of Śambhu, wields a spear,

(There is) a village named **Śrīparnakā**, in the territorial division (*māṅga*) of **Sundhāti**, (which lies) to the east of **Brahmapuraka**, to the west of **Millukadratha** and to the north of **Madhukajjharī** and to the south of **Darbhaviraka**. The householders and residents of the

¹ Above, pp. 48 f

² Above, p. 29

³ From ink impressions supplied by the Curator of the Pātnā Museum.

⁴ The dot in the superscript curve of this *akshara* is probably due to a fault in the copper.

⁵ Read प्रभावतिगुप्ताया समुत्पन्नस्य as in other cognate grants

⁶ Perhaps यशपुरमार्गे was intended

⁷ The expression is incomplete Read ऐहिकामुष्मिकहितार्थ . Cf. इहामुत्रहितार्थ which occurs in several cognate plates.

⁸ Read वसुरार्य- as the diafter has used a compound containing the names of the three donees.

⁹ The *anusvāra* on this *akshara* may have been cancelled.

village should be informed that for the increase of the religious merit and for the well-being, in this world and the next, of Our Queen-Mother, We have donated (*this*) village extending to its boundaries together with the right to levy a tax of one-fiftieth (*of the sale price*) to (*the Brāhmaṇas*) Gaṅgārya, son of Vēdārya, of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra*, Vasurārya of the Kauṇḍinya *gōtra* (*and*) Rudrārya of the Kauṇḍinya (*gōtra*) and Taittirīya *Śākhā*, in exchange for the previously donated **Māṇapallikā** in the territorial division (*mārga*) of **Yaśapura**.

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming.)

RĀMTĒK PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II

THIS plate belongs to a set of about five copper-plates which was discovered a few years ago by some contractors while digging for manganese at Mansar near Rāmtēk, about 28 miles from Nāgpur. The contractors divided the plates among themselves. After some of them had left the province, the news of the discovery reached Mr G P Dick, Barrister-at-Law of Nagpur, who could consequently recover only one of the plates. It was in his possession until his departure for England. Subsequently, it seems to have been lost. Dr Hiralal, to whom impressions and photographs of the plate were sent soon after it was discovered, gave a short account of it in his *Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (second edition), pp 4-5. As the plate was unpublished, I requested Dr. Hiralal to send its ink impressions to me. He complied with my request, but the impressions were lost in transit. He subsequently sent me its photographs, from which I edited it with facsimiles in the *Nagpur University Journal*, No. III, pp 20-21. I edit it here from the same facsimiles.

As shown below, the present **plate** records a Vākātaka grant. A Vākātaka copper-plate inscription generally consists of five plates. Of them, the first two contain the genealogy of the donor, commencing from his ancestor Pravarasēna I. On the third plate are generally given the particulars about the grant—the occasion on which it was made, the name, *gōtra* etc. of the donee, the name of the village, its boundaries, etc. The fourth plate enumerates the conditions of the grant and the immunities allowed to the donee. This is followed by the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, the regnal year when the grant was made and the names of the writer and the *Dūtaka*, which occupy the fifth plate. The present plate, which contains an enumeration of the immunities, is, therefore, the fourth or penultimate plate of its set. The photographs sent by Dr Hiralal measure 5·6" by 3 1". About 1 3" from the proper right end of them there is a round hole, 0 3" in diameter, for the ring which must have originally held the plates together. As the scale of the photographs is not known, it is not possible to state the exact dimensions of the original plate. Judged by the photographs which have considerably faded, the plate seems to have been in a good state of preservation, only two or three letters in the last two lines being slightly damaged by rust. There are five lines on either side. The fifth line on the first side is somewhat shorter than the rest as there was no sufficient space for more letters in the lower proper left corner.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets and closely resemble those of the other grants of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities worth noticing are that (i) the medial *au*, which is generally bipartite in Vākātaka records, is shown by two curves in *pautra*, line 7, the curve on the right hand being wrongly made to turn to the left; (ii) the sign for the medial *ī* (long) is a curling curve generally turning to the left (cf *kshīra*-, line 4), but in *bhuñjītaḥ* (for *bhuñjataḥ*) in lines 7-8, it turns to the right, (iii) the signs for the *jhvāmūliya* and *upadhmāniya* occur in lines 4 and 8 respectively. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the extant portion is wholly in prose. As will be seen from the transcript given below, the record has been written very incorrectly and carelessly. Absence of *sandhus*, omission of the *visarga*, the use of *n* for *ṇ* and of incorrect grammatical forms like *kūryyāt* and *kārayitā* are some of the glaring mistakes. Similar mistakes are, however, noticed in all Vākātaka grants. The scribe has omitted some words at the end of line 1 and several more after *atm-ānugrahāya* in line 3 as shown below in the notes to the transcribed text.

As the first three plates are not forthcoming now, all important particulars such as the names of the donor and the donee, the land or the village granted, its boundaries etc. are lost. But as the characters of the present plate resemble those of the Pātnā Museum and other plates of the Vākātaka king Pravarasēna II, the present grant also was probably made by him. The opening words of the extant portion state that it was made for the increase of religious merit, life, strength and prosperity of the donor. This statement clearly shows that the present plate could not have belonged to the same set as the Pātnā Museum plate which records a gift for the increase of the religious merit of Pravarasēna II's mother. The subsequent portion records the usual immunities granted in respect of *agrahāra* villages. Except for certain variants, they are identical with those which usually figure in Vākātaka copper-plate inscriptions. The concluding lines convey the royal order that none should cause an obstacle in the enjoyment of the gift, but that it should by all means be protected and augmented. This was followed by the usual warning, only a part of which appears on the present plate, that whoever, disobeying the royal order, would cause the slightest hindrance, would receive condign punishment, if reported against by the Brāhmanas. In the absence of the last plate, it is not possible to state the names of the writer and the *Dūtaka* nor the regnal year when the grant was made.

The plate does not make any addition to our historical information; for the formal part of the grant which is preserved on the present plate is common to several other Vākātaka inscriptions.

TEXT¹*Fourth Plate. First Side*

- 1 सव्वद्धिचक्षनियोगनियुक्ता आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधगत²
- 2 पूर्वसमाज्ञया³।⁴ वक्तव्या यथास्माभिरात्मधर्मायुर्बल-
- 3 मेश्वर्य⁵विवृद्धये इहामुत्र चात्मानुग्रहाय⁶ अभट-
- 4 र्छत्रप्रावेश्य⁷ [*] अपारम्परगोबलिर्वर्द्ध [*] अपु⁸क्षीरसन्दो-
- 5 ह [*] अपारासन⁹चर्म्मार्ङ्गार [*] अलवणकिलप्तो¹⁰-

Fourth Plate. Second Side

- 6 क्रेणिखनक [*] सर्व्वे (वि)ष्टिपरिहारपरिहि (हृ)त सपरिकिलप्तो¹¹-
- 7 परिकिलप्त आचन्द्र (न्द्रा)दित्यकालीय [*] पुत्र [पौ]त्रानुगामी [।*] भु-
- 8 ञ्जित¹² न केनचिव्या (द्व्या)घातः कर्त्तव्य [*] सर्व्वक्रियाभि (भी) रक्षि-

¹ From the facsimiles facing p. 28 in *N. U. J.*, No. III

² Read कुलपुत्राधिकृता भटारछात्राश्च as in the Pattan plates (No. 13), line 25.

³ Read विश्रुतपूर्व्वसमाज्ञया Cf. विश्रुतपूर्व्वयाज्ञया in the Tirōdī and Chammak plates

⁴ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁵ Read -र्व्वलेश्वर्य-

⁶ Some words like एष ग्राम उदकपूर्व्वमतिस्वष्ट । अथास्योचिताम्पूर्व्वराजानुमता चातुर्व्विद्याग्रहारमर्यादा वितराम । तद्यथा are inadvertently omitted here

⁷ Read अभटच्छात्रप्रावेश्य

⁸ Read अपुष्प-

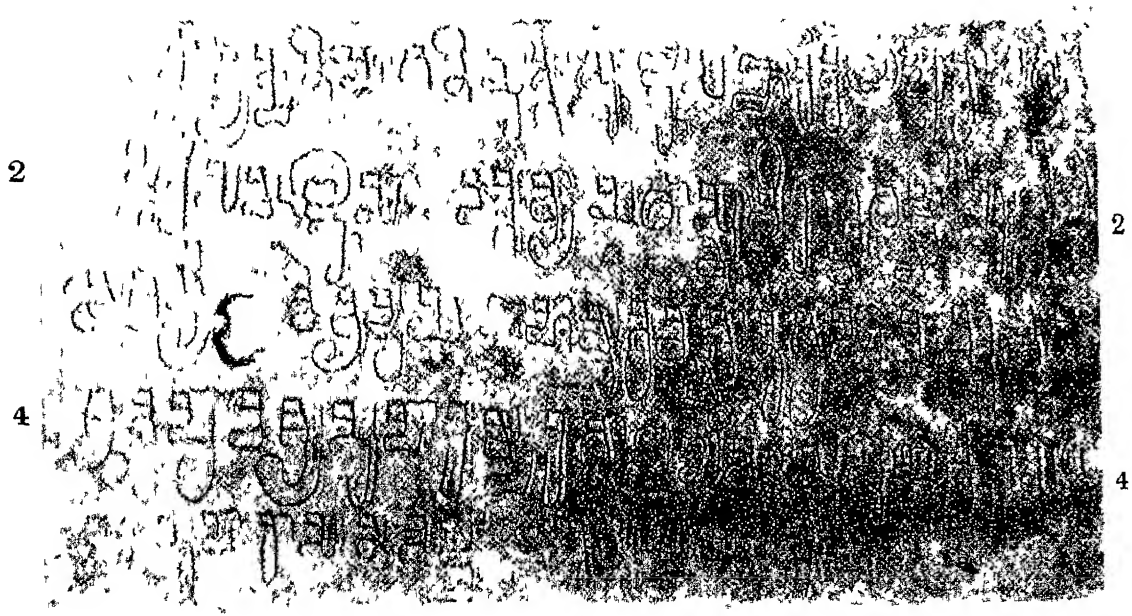
⁹ Other cognate Vākātaka plates generally read अचारासन, but the Pattan plates have the same reading as here

¹⁰ Other Vākātaka plates generally read अलवणकिलप्तक्रेणिखनक, but the Poona plates of Prabhāvatī-guptā read अलवणकिण्वक्रेणिखनक.

¹¹ The usual reading is सकलृप्तोपकलृप्त

¹² Read भुञ्जत

RĀMṬĒK PLATE OF PRAVARASĒNA II



- 9 तव्य परिवर्द्धयितव्यश्च [1*] यश्चास्मच्छासनमगनयमान¹
 10 स्वल्पामपि परिबाधा कूर्यत्कारयिता वा² तस्य ब्राम्हणै³-

TRANSLATION

(The first three plates of the grant are not forthcoming)

(Our Officers of noble birth) who are employed by the order of the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent) and who exercise their authority by (*Our*) command, [Our soldiers and policemen] should be directed by the following order which is already well-known to them.—

(For translation of lines 2 to 10, see above, pp 14-15)

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming)

¹Read -मगनयमान .

²Read परिबाधा कूर्यत्कारयेद्वा

³The concluding words of this sentence must have been -वैदितस्य सदण्डनिग्रहं कुर्याम as in other Vākātaka grants.

AN UNFINISHED DURG PLATE

THIS plate was discovered at **Mōhallā**, the headquarters of the former Pānābāras Zamindari in the **Durg** District of Madhya Pradesh. An ink impression of it was sent to the late Dr Hiralal, but he did not consider it of sufficient importance for being included in his *Inscriptions in C P and Berar*. I came to know of it in January 1934 from a casual reference in his letter. Later, he sent me an ink impression of it on which he had fortunately jotted down the name of its owner. In the course of inquiries made by Mr B. A. Bambawale, Deputy Commissioner of Durg, it was elicited that the plate was originally found at Mōhallā. It is now deposited in the Central Museum, Nagpur. I edited it with a facsimile in the *Bhārata Itihāsa Samśōdhaka Mandala Quarterly*, Vol. XV¹. Later, I re-edited it in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXII, pp. 207 f. The inscription is edited here from the original plate.

This **plate** was intended to be the **first** of a set of three or four copper-plates recording the charter of a Vākātaka king. It is inscribed only on one side. It measures 8" by 3.75", and weighs 19½" tōlās. It is only 1/20" in thickness and is thus the thinnest of all Vākātaka plates discovered so far. About 1.9" from the middle of the proper right margin there is a hole, .35" in diameter, for a ring intended to connect it with other plates of the set. But no such ring has been discovered so far. The size of the plate and the position of the hole show that it does not belong to the same set as the Indore plates or the Pātnā Museum third plate of Pravarasēna II.

The plate contains five lines only. The letters are very neatly cut and do not show through on the reverse, though the plate is very thin. The ends of the plate are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; still the inscription is in a perfect state of preservation.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows: The medial *au* is bipartite as in other Vākātaka grants, *ḍ* has a round back and is not clearly distinguished from *d*, see *-shōdaśy-*, line 1, *m* appears in a transitional cursive form, with the lower box attached to its left arm as in *Agnishtōm-*, line 1; its other form with the box attached to the right vertical, which is generally seen in the charters of Pravarasēna II, does not appear in this record. The two forms appear side by side in the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. The form of *m* used in the present plate develops ultimately into that found in the charters of the kings of Śarabhapura as well as in those of Tivaradeva. The final *t* and *m* appear in a much reduced size and the latter has a looped base. The **language** is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose. The **orthography** shows the usual reduplication of the consonant preceding *y* and of that following *r*; see *Bhāgiratthy-*, line 4 and *Āptōryām-*, line 1.

With the exception of the place of issue, the record is identical, so far as it goes, with the initial portion of the charters of Pravarasēna II and Prithvishēna II. It mentions by name only one king of the dynasty, viz, **Pravarasēna I**. It then refers to his grandson who was a great devotee of Svāmi-Mahābhairava, and who was the daughter's son of **Bhavanāga**, the *Mahārāja* of (the family of) the **Bhārasīvas**. The record on the plate stops just before the

¹ The article is included in G. H. Khare's *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, pp. 1 f.

mention of this grandson of Pravarasēna I, viz, Rudrasēna I. The plate purports to have been issued from **Padmapura**.

It seems that the **inscription** on the present plate **was not completed**; for the word *dr̥ṣhtam* 'seen' which usually occurs in the beginning of finished charters of the Vākātakas as a mark of authorization¹ is conspicuous by its absence here. There is in fact sufficient space for three letters in the beginning of the first line, which shows that the word *dr̥ṣhtam* was intended to be incised there after the record was completed. It may again be noted that the present plate leaves space sufficient for five letters at the end of the last line. The word *Gautamīputrasya* which follows *Bhavanāga-dauhitrasya* in other Vākātaka records could very well have been written in that space. In fact the engraver seems to have begun to incise that word, for faint traces of the top portion of the first syllable of that word can be noticed on the plate. That the engraver left so much space at the end shows that he received an order to stop before he could complete the line. Whether the record was incised on another set of plates cannot be determined at present.

It is also difficult to determine who intended to issue the present plate. The general resemblance between the characters of the present plate and those of the grants of Pravarasēna II suggests that it might be that Vākātaka king. It may, however, be noted that almost all the grants of Pravarasēna II are issued from either his earlier capital Nandivardhana or the later one, Pravarapura. If he had intended to issue the present plate, Pravarapura, not Padmapura, would, in all probability, have been mentioned as the place of issue. Besides, the palaeographic evidence detailed above seems to show that the present plate may be assigned to a later date. Padmapura is not known to have been a holy place, nor is a word like *vāsakāt* added to it, showing that it was the site of the donor's camp. It seems therefore that **Padmapura was the capital of a successor of Pravarasēna II** who intended to issue this charter.

It seems that the capital was shifted to Padmapura during the reign of Pravarasēna II's son Narēndrasēna. The description in the Bālāghāt plates that Prithivīshēna II raised his sunken family suggests that there was some foreign invasion during the reign of his father Narēndrasēna when he was reduced to great straits. The invasion was probably by the Nala king Bhavadattavarman, who later occupied the western portion of the Vākātaka dominion and ruled from the erstwhile Vākātaka capital Nandivardhana. The Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna in this emergency appears to have shifted the seat of his government to Padmapura in the east where he had the support of his loyal feudatories, the rulers of Mēkalā and Kōsalā. Later, Narēndrasēna's son Prithivīshēna II drove the enemy out of his ancestral dominion and even carried the war into his territory. He appears to have invaded and burnt the Nala capital Pushkarī as stated in the Pōdāgadh stone inscription.

The mention of Padmapura in the present plate is also interesting from another point of view. The well-known Sanskrit poet Bhavabhūti, who flourished towards the close of the seventh century A.C., mentions Padmapura in Vidarbha as his ancestral home. It is not unlikely that his ancestors who were great Mīmāṃsakas and performed such great Vedic sacrifices as the Vājapēya were specially invited to their capital Padmapura by the Vākātaka kings who were patrons of Vedic learning and themselves performed great Vedic sacrifices. After the decline of the Vākātakas there were no great royal dynasties ruling in Vidarbha. Bhavabhūti seems there-

¹ The only exceptions known so far are (1) the Riddhapur plates of Prabhāvatīguptā (No. 8) and the India Office plate of Dēvasēna (No. 24). It does not occur also in the Bālāghāt plates of Prithivīshēna II, but that charter also was unfinished.

fore to have gone to the north where he found a patron in Yaśōvarman, the king of Kanauj¹

As stated before, **Padmapura** was situated in Vidarbha. The country of Vidarbha was not confined to what is known now as Berar, but extended considerably to the east of the Wardhā. The Siwani, Indore and Tirōdi plates of Pravarasēna II show that the country under the direct rule of that Vākātaka king extended to the eastern boundary of the Bhandārā and Bālāghāt Districts. As a matter of fact, there is now no village named Padmapura in Western Vidarbha, while there are at least six villages of that name in the Chāndā and Bhandārā Districts of Eastern Vidarbha. Of these, Padmapur, 2 miles from Āmgaon, a station on the Nagpur-Calcutta line of the South-Eastern Railway, is probably the Padmapura of the present plate. The village contains many ancient remains such as images of Hindu gods like Vishnu, those of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras like Pārśvanātha and Rishabhadeva, fragments of massive stone pillars and a large lintel measuring 8' × 17' × 1' 6". There are, besides, remnants of some old temples in a dilapidated condition. One beautifully carved mediaeval image of Śiva seems to have been brought over from there and is now preserved in the Central Museum, Nagpur. No other Padmapur in Vidarbha is reported to have such ancient relics. I therefore feel no hesitation in concluding that **Padmapur near Āmgaon** in the Bhandārā District was **the Vākātaka capital** and **the ancestral home of Bhavabhūti**¹.

TEXT²

- 1 पद्मपुरात्³ [१"] अग्निष्टोमाप्तोऽयमोक्थ्यषोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क्रचतुरश्व-
- 2 मेधयाजिन विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्रसम्राज वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीप्रवरसेनस्य सूनो सूनो
- 3 अन्यन्तस्वामिमहामैरवभक्तस्य असभारसन्निवेशितशिवलिङ्गोद्धनशिवसुपरि-
- 4 तुष्टसमुत्पादितराजवशाना पराक्रमधिगतभागि (गी) रत्नमलजलमूर्द्धना (द्वौ) भिक्षितानाम्
- 5 दशाश्वमेधावभूत (थ) स्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य⁴

TRANSLATION

From **Padmapura**—

(For translation of lines 1 to 5, see above, p. 13.)

(The subsequent plates of the grant have not been found.)

¹ For further discussion of this matter, see my article 'The Birth-place of Bhavabhūti' in *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XI, pp. 287 f. and *Studies in Indology*, Vol. I, pp. 21 f.

² From the original plate

³ There is a space of 7" sufficient for incising three letters before this word

⁴ There is a space of 1.3" left after this word. Faint traces of the top portion of a letter can be seen on the plate

AN UNFINISHED DURG PLATE



BĀLĀGHĀT PLATES OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II

THESE plates were found 'hanging to a tree in the jungle' somewhere in the District of **Balāghāt** in Madhya Pradesh some time before May 1893. They were sent to the Asiatic Society of Bengal and were later entrusted to Dr. Kielhorn for being edited. His article on them together with facsimiles was published posthumously in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp 267 f. The plates are edited here from the same facsimiles. Their present whereabouts are not known.

'The **plates** are five in number, each between $6\frac{1}{4}$ " and $6\frac{7}{8}$ " long by between $3\frac{7}{8}$ " and 4" high, two of them contain no writing whatever, while of the three others (here described as plates i, ii and iii), the second is engraved on both sides and the first and the third on one side only. Though the plates have no raised rims and are not fashioned thicker near the edges, the engraving on them is throughout in a perfect state of preservation. The five plates are strung on a ring, which passes through a hole about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " distant from the middle of the proper right margin of each plate.' The ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick and between 3" and $3\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter. The ends of it are flattened off and joined by a bolt, which had not been cut when the plates reached Dr. Kielhorn. 'On the ring described, there slides a smaller ring, made of a band of copper, the ends of which are fastened by a rivet which also passes through, and firmly holds, a flat disc of copper about $2\frac{3}{8}$ " in diameter. Undoubtedly this disc was made to serve as a seal and to bear some writing, but nothing has been engraved on it¹.'

The plates were intended to record a grant of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna II**, but for some reason the inscription was not completed. The extant portion of it consists of 35 lines inscribed on four sides of the first three plates. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in a general way those of the grants of Pravarasēna II, but are less angular. The only peculiarities that need be noticed here are as follows —The rare *jh* occurs as a subscript letter in *Ajghata*-, line 31, *ḍ* and *d* are clearly distinguished, *v* appears in two forms, rectangular as in *-vāsakād*-, line 1 and round as in *vachanāt*-, line 35, the *jihvāmūlīya* occurs in line 30; the *visarga* is denoted by two hook-shaped lines. The **language** is Sanskrit, and the text is wholly in prose. As regards **orthography**, we may note the use of the vowel *u* for *i* as in *-pautrinah*-, line 16, of *n* for *ṇ* and *vice versa* as in *kārunya*-, line 12 and *mano*-, line 13, and of the guttural and dental nasals for the *anusvāra* in *vanśa*- in lines 8, 24 etc. and *ansa* in line 6.

As stated before, the plates were intended to be issued by the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna II**. His genealogy up to Pravarasēna II occurs as in the latter's Jāmb plates, with the omission, evidently through inadvertence of the writer², of a long expression in line 10. Of Pravarasēna II the present grant gives the additional description which is noticed only in his Siwanī grant that he followed the path laid down by his predecessors and that by his good policy, strength and valour he exterminated all his enemies. Pravarasēna II's son was **Narēndrasēna**, who is said to have taken away the family's fortune by means of confidence

¹*Ep Ind*, Vol. IX, p 267.

²Jayaswal tried to make much capital out of this mistake and thought that Rudrasēna I was described here as a Bhāraśiva *Mahārāja* as he had succeeded as a Bhāraśiva *dauhitra*. See his *History of India*, etc., p 32. He does not, however, explain why this description occurs only in such a late grant.

in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him. We are further told that his commands were honoured by the lords of **Kōsalā**, **Mēkalā** and **Mālava**. His son, from the queen **Ajjhitabhattārikā**, the daughter of the king of **Kuntala**, was *Mahārāja Prithivīshēna II*, who was a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu). The present plates were intended to be issued by him from his camp at **Vēmbāra** which is mentioned in the beginning, but of his order only the word *sarvvādhyaksha-* was actually written. The **unfinished nature** of the present charter is also indicated by the absence of the word *dr̥ṣṭam* 'seen', which almost invariably occurs as a mark of authorisation in all complete charters of the Vākātakas.

As the inscription was not completed, there is no mention of the regnal date or of the writer and the *Dūtaka*.

The place **Vēmbāra** from which the charter was intended to be issued remained unidentified for a long time. In my article on the Durg plate I suggested its identification with Bēmbāl, about 28 miles to the east of Chāndā and 2 miles to the west of the Waingangā¹

TEXT²

First Plate

- 1 ³वेम्बारवासकादग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यामोक्थ्य-
- 2 षोडश्यतिरात्रवाजपेयबृहस्पतिसवसाद्य-
- 3 स्कचतुरश्वमेधयाजिन[] विष्णुवृद्धसगोत्र-
- 4 स्य सम्राट्(जो) वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्चि(श्री) प्रवरसे-
- 5 नस्य [सू]नोस्सूनो अत्यन्तस्वामिमहा-
- 6 भैरवभक्तस्य ।⁴ अन्स⁵भारसणि(त्रि)वेशितशिव-
- 7 लिङ्गोद्वहनशिवसुपरितुष्टसमुत्पादित-
- 8 राजवडशाना⁶म्पराक्रमाधिगतभागिरत्थ्यामल⁷-
- 9 जलमूर्द्धाभिषिक्तानान्दशाश्वमेधाव-

Second Plate First Side

- 10 भृथस्नातानाम्भारशिवानाम्म⁸हाराजश्चि(श्री) रुद्रसे-
- 11 नस्य सूनो अत्यन्तमाहेश्वरस्य सत्याज्जव-
- 12 कारुण्य(ण्य)शौर्यविक्रमनयविनयमाहा-
- 13 त्म्यधिमत्त्व⁹पात्रगतभक्तित्वधर्मा(र्म)विजयित्वमणो(नो)-
- 14 नैर्मा(र्म)ल्यादिर्गु(गु)णसमुदितस्य वर्ष(र्ष)शत-
- 15 मभिवर्द्धमानकोशदण्डसाधनसन्तानपुत्र-
- 16 पौतृ(त्रि)ण युधिष्ठिरवृत्तेर्व्वी¹⁰काटकानाम्महा-

¹See *Ep Ind*, Vol XXII, p 210, n 6

²From facsimiles facing pp 270 and 271 in *ibid* Vol IX

³There is empty space for three *aksharas* here. Several other grants of the Vākātakas open with *dr̥ṣṭam*

⁴This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁵Read अस-

⁶Read वशाना-

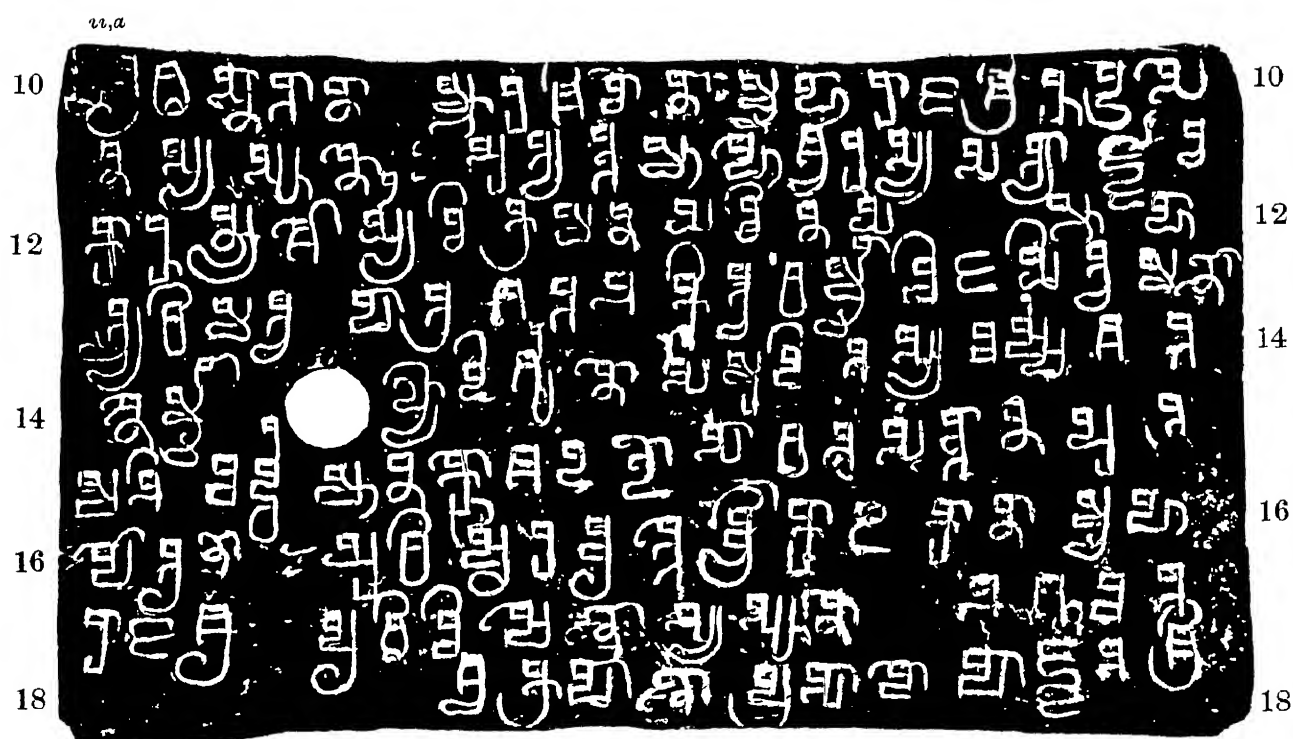
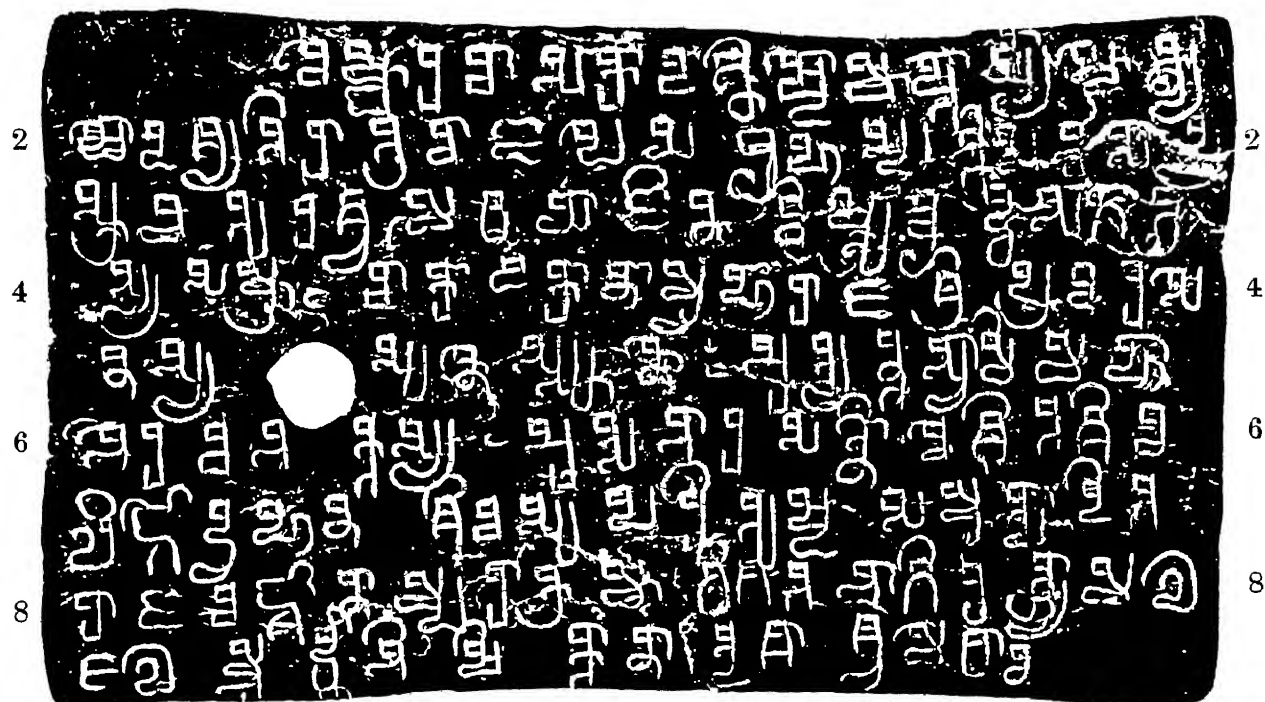
⁷Read भागीरत्थ्यामल-

⁸There is a redundant *visarga* between ना and म्म. Here the words महाराजश्रीभवनागदौहित्रस्य गौतमीपुत्रस्य पुत्रस्य वाकाटकानाम् have been omitted through inadvertence.

⁹Read श्रीमत्त्व-

¹⁰Originally व्वि changed to व्वी

BĀLĀGHĀT PLATES OF PRITHIVĪSHĒNA II



0 2 4 6 20 22 24 26

8 0 2 4 28 30 32 34

- 17 राज[श्रि](श्री)पृथिविषेणस्य सूनो[*] भगवत-
 18 श्चक्रपाणे[*] प्रसादोपाज्जितश्रि(श्री)-

Second Plate: Second Side

- 19 समुदयस्य वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रि(श्री)रुद्र-
 20 सेनस्य सूनो ¹पूर्वराजानुवृत्तमागा(गा)णु(नु)सा-
 21 रिण सुनयबलपराक्रमोम्भि(च्छ)ण्ण(न्न)सर्व्वद्वि-
 22 ष महाराजाधिराजश्रि(श्री)देवगुप्तसुताया-
 23 म्प्रभावतिगुप्तायामुत्पण्ण(न्न)स्य वाकाट-
 24 कवडशा(वशा)लङ्कारभूतस्य शम्भोप्रसादाद्ध(द्ध)-
 25 तकार्तयुगस्य² वाकाटकानाम्महाराज(ज)श्र(श्री)-
 26 प्रवरसेनस्य सूनो पूर्वाधिगतगुण-
 27 विश्वा[सा]³दपहृतडश⁴श्र(श्रि)य कोसला-

Third Plate

- 28 मेकलामालवाधिपति[भि*]रभ्यर्चितशासनस्य प्र-
 29 तापप्रलातारिसनस्य⁵ वाकाटकानाम्महा-
 30 राजश्रि(श्री)नरेन्द्रसेनस्य सूनो⁶कुन्तलाधिपति-
 31 सुताया(या) महादेव्यामज्झितभट्टारिकायामु-
 32 त्पण्ण(न्न)स्य त(ते)जक्षमासन्निधानभु(भू)त-
 33 स्य⁶ द्विमग्नवडश⁷स्योद्धर्तु वाकाटकाना-
 34 म्परमभागवतमहाराजश्रि(श्री)पृथिवि(वी)षे-
 35 णस्य वचना[त्*] अस्मत्सन्तका[*] सर्व्वद्विचक्ष-

TRANSLATION

⁸From the camp fixed at **Vēmbāra**—

By the order of the illustrious **Prithivīshena (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**; who is a devout worshipper of the Bhagavat (Vishnu), who has rescued his sunken family; who is the abode of valour and forgiveness, who was born of the *Mahādēvī Ajjhitabhattārikā*, the daughter of the lord of **Kuntala**; who is the son of the illustrious **Narēndrasēna**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, who held in check enemies bowed down by his valour, whose commands were honoured by the lords of **Kōsalā**, **Mekalā**, and **Mālava**; who, from confidence in the excellent qualities previously acquired by him, took away the (royal) fortune of (his) family; who was the son of the illustrious **Pravarasēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**

(For translation of lines 1 -25, see above, pp 13-14)

(Line 35) Our [officers of noble birth] appointed by the *Sarvādhyaksha* (General Superintendent)

(The subsequent portion of the grant was not inscribed)

¹ This and the following expression descriptive of Pravarasēna II occur only in the latter's Siwanī plates.

² There is an incomplete sign of a redundant initial *v* engraved here

³ There is a redundant *m* incised here

⁴ Read वज-

⁵ Read प्रणतारिशासनस्य

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

⁷ Perhaps निमग्नवडशस्य was intended

⁸ There is here empty space for three *aksharas* such as *drishtam* which generally occur in the beginning of a completed Vākātaka copper-plate inscription

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE FEUDATORIES OF THE MAIN BRANCH

No 19 PLATE XIX

BAMHANĪ PLATES OF BHARATABALA

THESE plates were discovered at the village **Bamhanī** in the Sohāgpur *tahsil* of the former Rēwā State. Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra published first a short note on it in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Part I, pp 215 ff and later edited them with facsimiles and a translation in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XXVII, pp 132 ff. I discussed the historical information furnished by these plates in an article entitled 'The Pāṇḍava Dynasty of Mēkalā', published in the *Indica* (Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume), pp 268 f. The plates are edited here from the facsimiles accompanying Dr. Chhabra's article in the *Epigraphia Indica*.

'The **plates** are three in number, each measuring roughly $7\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They are strung on a copper ring, about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in thickness, passing through a hole, $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter cut in the centre of each plate near the margin. The ring must originally have been circular in shape, but in its present condition it is bent and elongated. Its ends are secured under a comparatively small **seal** with a diameter of $\frac{3}{4}$ ". The seal bears no emblem or legend, if there was any originally, it has now completely disappeared. The inscription on the plate is in an excellent state of preservation throughout. The first and third plates are engraved only on one side, while the second bears writing on both the sides. There are altogether 49 lines of writing, twelve being inscribed on the first face, thirteen on each side of the second plate, and eleven on the last. All the plates together with the ring and the seal weigh 94 *tōlās*'¹

The **characters** are of the nail-headed variety of the southern alphabets. They resemble in some respects those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, which also are of the same nail-headed variety, but, unlike the latter, they do not contain any admixture of the northern letters. The following peculiarities may be noted —The initial *ṛ* (short) consists of an indented curve over two dots placed horizontally, see *iti*, line 3, in medial *ī* (long) the length is indicated in all places by means of a dot in the curve denoting short *ṛ* as in *āsīd-*, line 1, the forms of initial *ē* and *au* which occur in lines 25 and 16 respectively are noteworthy, *j* has a slight notch in its top stroke as in *Jayabala*, line 3. In the case of *m*, we notice a box-head instead of a nail-head, see *su-vimāla-*, line 1. The **numerical symbol** for 2 is also noteworthy, for it does not consist of two curves placed one above the other, but has the same form as in modern Nāgarī. The **language** is Sanskrit, the record being partly in prose and partly in verse. As regards **orthography**, we may notice the use of the *anusvāra* for final *n* as in *śrīmām*, line 2; the reduplication of the consonant preceding and following *ṛ* as in *puttro*, *sarvva-*, line 3, the use of the guttural nasal in place of the *anusvāra* in *vanṣē*, line 41, the use of *v* for *b* in some places as in *-vabhūva*, line 8; and the use of *ri* for the vowel *ṛi* in *vyākriṣhya*, line 22. There are, besides, several mistakes in the writing of the record which have been corrected in the transcript and the foot-notes appended to it.

¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol XXVII, p 132

The inscription is one of *Mahārāja* **Bharata** or **Bharatabala** of the **Pāndava** lineage, who ruled over the country of **Mēkalā**. The object of it is to record the grant of the village **Vardhamānaka** situated in the **Pañchagartā-vishaya** in the **Uttara-rāshtra** (Northern Division) of **Mēkalā** to the Brāhmana **Lōhitasarasāvmīn** of the Vatsa *gōtha* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā*. The charter was written by **Śiva** the son of the *Rāhasika* **Īśāna**, and was engraved by **Mihiraka**, the son of the goldsmith **Īśvara**. It is dated in the regnal year 2, on the **thirteenth tithi** of the **dark fortnight** of the month **Bhādrapada**, the *nakshatra* being **Pushya**.

The plates give the following genealogy of the donor —

Jayabala
 |
Vatsarāja *m* **Drōṇabhattachārikā**
 |
Mahārāja **Nāgabala** *m* **Indrabhattachārikā**
 |
Mahārāja **Bharatabala** *alias* **Indra** *m* **Lōkaprakāśā**.

The inscription does not mention any royal title in connection with the names of the first two kings, probably because their description is given in verse. The next two kings **Nāgabala** and **Bharatabala** are first described in a prose passage and later eulogised in one or more verses. They are both styled as *Mahārāja* and described as devout worshippers of Mahēśvara, great patrons of the Brāhmanas and as *Paramagurudēvatādhīdāvataviśēsha* which has been taken to mean 'distinguished as a highly venerable personage, a deity and a supreme divinity'. This last epithet which signifies the divine nature of the kings is not noticed in the inscriptions of even Gupta and Vākātaka kings. A similar epithet, *viz*, *Paramadēvatādhīdāvatā* occurs, however, in the Soṛo and Patiākellā plates as shown by Dr Chhabra.

From verse 5 it appears that **Bharata** or **Bharatabala** was also known by the name of **Indra**. This is also confirmed by his comparison with Indra, the lord of gods, in verses 6 and 8. Bharatabala married **Lōkaprakāśā** who is described as born in a family descended from gods and as a princess of **Kōsalā**. Dr Chhabra's view that she might be a princess of the Pāndava family of Kōsalā cannot be accepted, for, supposing that there was a Pāndava family ruling over Southern Kōsalā in this period it must have been regarded as *sagōtra*, if not *samānōdaka*, of the family ruling over the country of Mēkalā. Hīndu Dharmasāstra does not allow marriages between *samānōdakas* and *sagōtras*. Lōkaprakāśā probably belonged to the family descended from Śūra. From the Ārang plates¹ dated in the Gupta year 182 (501-02 A C) we learn that this family was ruling in Kōsalā (Chhattisgarh) for at least five generations before Bhīmasēna I who was reigning at the time. The five ancestors were Śūra, Dayita (or Dayitavarman I), Bibhīshana, Bhīmasēna I and Dayitavarman II. Lōkaprakāśā, who married Bharatabala was probably a daughter of Bhīmasēna I of Dakshina Kōsalā.

As stated before, this dynasty of Mēkalā traced its descent from the **Pāndavas** of epic fame. In verse 11 which seems to have a double meaning, the family is called *saumya*, *viz*, descended from Sōma or the Moon. The Pāndavas of the *Mahābhārata* are known to have belonged to the lunar race.

As pointed out by Dr Chhabra, Verse 11 seems to describe not only the king (*narēndra*) Bharatabala, but also his suzerain **Narēndra** *viz*, the Vākātaka king **Narēndrasēna**.² From

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, pp 342 f. The date of this plate is G 182 not 282 as read by the editor. *Ibid*, Vol XXVI, p 228.

² For a similar instance, see the Surat plates of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya, which describe the Chālukya Emperor Vinayāditya, the Suzerain of Śrīyāśraya Śilāditya.

the Bālāghāt plates we know that the commands of Narēndrasēna were honoured by the rulers of Kōsalā, Mēkalā and Mālava. This is usually taken to mean that the rulers of these countries acknowledged the suzerainty of the Vākātaka king. In the Ārang plates of Bhīmasēna II we have, however, no indication that any of his predecessors were the feudatories of the Vākātakas. Like these rulers of Kōsalā, Bharatabala also makes no clear reference to his overlord, but he may have covertly alluded to him in the verse in question ¹

Among the officers to whom the royal order is addressed are mentioned the *Grāmakūta*, *Dronāgrakanāyaka*, *Dēvavārīka* and *Gandaka*. Except *Grāmakūta*, these names are not known to occur elsewhere. The *Grāmakūta* was, of course, the head of the village. The *Drōnāgrakanāyaka* was evidently the chief of the *Drōnāgraka* which seems to be the same as *Drōnamukha* mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. Kautilya lays down that there should be a *Drōnamukha* in the midst of four hundred villages ². The *Dronāgrakanāyaka* was probably the head of this principal village. Dr Chhabra takes *Dēvavārīka* in the sense of 'a superintendent of temples and holy places'. Perhaps *Dēvavārīka* is a mistake for *Dauvārīka*, in which case it may mean the same as *Pratīhāra*. The *Śukranīlāsāra* mentions the *Pratīhāra* as the head of the town or village police. ³ The *Gandaka* has been taken in the sense of 'a warrior', but may signify the same as *bhata* or 'a soldier'. These officers and government servants are concerned with the collection of revenue and the maintenance of peace and order and have therefore to be informed of every gift or transfer of landed property.

The **localities** mentioned in the present grant have already been identified by Dr Chhabra. **Mēkalā** is the name of the country comprising Amarakantak and the surrounding region. The Narmadā, which takes its rise in the Amarakantak hill, is called *Mēkala-kanyakā*. **Vardhamānaka** is, of course, Bamhanī where the plates were found. **Pañchagartā** probably means a valley of five rivers. It is noteworthy that in the vicinity of Bamhanī there are five rivulets at a short distance from one another, which later on join the Sona. There is also a village named Pāchgaon, about three miles south of Sahdōl, which probably represents the headquarters of the *Pañchagartā vishaya*.

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्^[1*] स्वस्ति^[1*] आसीच्च पाण्डवाना सुविमलयशसामन्वये भूरिधाम्ना(म्ना) रा
- 2 जाभूत्मे(न्मे) कलाया क्षितिपतितिलक सप्रसूतोऽस्कीर्त्ति(र्त्ति) [1*] श्रीमा(मान्) श्रीस-
- 3 विधा[ता*] जयबल इति य ख्याप्यते स्वैर्यशोभि लोकेस्मि(स्मिन्) सर्वदे(दै) [व*]
- 4 प्रवरगुणगणालङ्कृतश्चार(रु)मूर्त्ति(र्त्ति) ⁷ [॥१॥*] तस्याह्वाहृतजय प्रथि[तो दया-*]
- 5 वा(वान्) वत्सेश्वर प्रतिसमो (वत्सेश्वरप्रतिसमो) गुणवान्विधिज्ञ [1*] पुत्रोभवद्रिपुग्रहोप-⁸
- 6 वनानि येन वन्यैर्मृगै प्रचुरतामुपपादितानि⁹॥ [२॥*] महानुभाव[*]

¹ Dr Chhabra has drawn attention to an analogous instance in the Ghumli plates in which the Saindhava Chiefs Krishnarāja II and his brother Jāika I refer to their sovereign, the Pratīhāra Emperor Rāmahadra, in a covert manner.

² *Arthaśāstra* (second ed. by Shama Sastri), p. 46. *Dronamukha* is explained by Jain commentators as a town approachable by a road as well as a water-way.

³ *Śukranīlāsāra*, II, 120-21, 170-75.

⁴ From the facsimiles facing pp. 140-41 in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVII.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ This *visarga* is superfluous.

⁷ Metre *Sragdharā*.

⁸ Read गृहो-.

⁹ Metre *Vasantatilakā*.

- 7 सुकृतप्रशन्सि(सी) गुणान्तरज्ञ पुरुषोपभोग्य [१*] सद्धर्मशीलो(ल) सुनय[प्र]-
 8 धान श्रीवत्सराज(जो) नृपतिर्ध्व(र्ध्व)भूव¹ ॥ [३॥*] तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादानुध्यात प-
 9 रममाहेश्वर परमब्रह्मण्य परमगुरुदेवताधिदैवतविशेष[*]
 10 श्रीमा² श्रीमत्या देव्या द्रोणभट्टारिकायामुत्पन्न श्रीमहाराजना-
 11 गबल [१*] तुरगखुरनिपातक्षुण्णमार्गा धरित्रि(त्री) मलिनयति दिगन्ता(न्तान्)
 12 पा(पा)सुरूक्षाकुलान्ता(न्तान्) [१*] मदमलिनकपोला वारणा यस्य

Second Plate First Side

- 13 य(या)त प्रशममुपनयन्ते शीकरार्द्रा(र्द्रान्)³ क्षणेन⁴ ॥ [४॥*] ततस्तस्य पुत्रस्तत्पादा-
 14 नुध्यात परममाहेश्वर परब्रम(ह्म)ण्य परमगुरुदेवताधिदैवत-
 15 विशेष श्रीमत्या देव्यामिन्द्रभट्टारिकायाम(मु)त्पन्न श्रीमहाराजभरत[*]
 16 इन्द्रो दयाशीलगुणान्विताया औदार्य्यचातुर्य्यसम(म)न्विताया[१*] पु-
 17 त्तु[*] प्रसूतोमलचारुकान्ति शैलेन्द्रपुत्र्या इव कार्तिकेय⁵ ॥ [४॥*] इन्द्रो दा-
 18 रणिसभवेथ हुतभुक्ततेजोज्ज्वल⁶ स्नेहवात्सद्वृत्तस्थितिविप्रमन्द्र⁷-
 19 विधृतप्र(प्रा)प्तप्रमाणोन्नति[*]। दृष्ट साधुसुखोदयाय हि नृणा थ-
 20 र्म्मार्थसपादक वेद्यामध्वरसस्थिते वसुहृत पूज्य सता सध्व-
 21 दा⁸ ॥ [६॥*] येनोत्तुङ्गरिपुद्गुमैरविरलैर्भ(र्भ)ग्नै समस्ता दिशच्छ(श्छ)न्ना दिध्व(ग्व)र-
 22 दन्तिनेव गुरुणा व्याक्रि(कृ)ष्य विस्फूर्जिता(तै)। यस्यैव(व)विधचेष्ट(ष्टि)तस्य नृ-
 23 पते कृत्स्ने महीमण्डल(ले) सौराज्यश्री(श्रि)यमादधातु⁹ विपुला धर्म्मार्थकाम-
 24 प्रदा¹⁰ ॥ [७॥*] श्रीभरत क्षितिनाथ क्षितिपतितिलक सुरेन्द्रसमवि(वी)र्य्य
 25 विनिहृतरिपुगणलक्षिम(क्ष्मी) दधार य सशू(श्रि)ता स्वभुजो(जे)¹¹ ॥ [८॥*] एकैव¹²

Second Plate Second Side

- 26 स्फटिकविमलशुभ्र वि(वि)भ्रति(ती) शीलतोयन¹³। यमनियतु(म)तदान्तप्रान्तशु-
 27 द्धप्रवाह(हम्) [१*] प्रशमगुणगणोमिया(मिर्या) जन पावयन्ति(यन्ती) स्वयमिह सुर-
 28 लोकादागता जाह्नवीव¹⁴ ॥ [९॥*] श्रीमच्चान्द्रा(न्द्रा)शुकि(की)र्तेर्भरतव(व)लनृपस्योत्तम-
 (मा) र(रा)ज-
 29 पत्ति(त्नी)।¹⁵ जाता य(या)कौ(को)सलायाममरजकुलजा किति(कीर्ति)म(मु)च्चैर्दधाता-
 (ना) ॥ (१) शश्वद्धर्म्मार्थकामप्रतिविहिततमा¹⁶ यया सा
 30 कार(म)प्रतिविहिततमातीव¹⁶ लोकप्रकाशा याता र(पौ)त्रै प्रपौत्रैर्न[य] विनयर-

¹ Metre *Upajāti*

² Read श्रीमान्

³ It seems better to construe this adjective with दिगन्तान् than with मही as Chhabra does

⁴ Metre *Mālīnī*

⁵ Metre *Indravajrā*

⁶ Read हुतभुक्तेजोज्ज्वल

⁷ Read स्नेहवान्सद्वृत्तस्थितिविप्रमन्द्र-

⁸ Metre *Śārdūlavakrīḍita*

⁹ Chhabra suggests the emendations चेष्टित स for चेष्टितस्य, नृपति for नृपते and आदधाति for आदधातु I would rather keep these words unchanged and suggest विपुला for विपुला and धर्म्मार्थकामप्रदा for धर्म्मार्थकामप्रदा The construction then would be यस्य कृत्स्ने मण्डले धर्म्मार्थकामप्रदा मही विपुला सौराज्यश्रियमादधातु।

¹⁰ Metre *Śārdūlavakrīḍita*

¹¹ Metre *Aryā*

¹² The words एकैव are not connected with the following verse Construe them with भरतवलस्य राजपत्नी in v. 10

¹³ Read तोयम् The following mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁴ Metre *Mālīnī*

¹⁵ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁶ There is a wrong *sandhi* here प्रतिविहिततमा and अतीव Dissolve शश्वद्धर्म्मार्थकामप्रतिविहिततमा as प्रतिविहित तमा यया सा Thus dissolved, the compound makes the queen's name

- 31 तै राजसि (सि) वै (है) प्रतिष्ठा [म्*]¹ ॥ [१०॥*] योसौ सपूर्णशिवितत्रयविनिपतितानेकसामन्त-
 32 मूर्द्धप्रोद्घृष्टोत्फुल्लपपदति² चलनय (यु) गाक्रान्तदिक् (वच) कवाल [।*] सौम्य सो-
 33 यण्य (ञ्च) वश प्रभव इति जने कीर्त्यते (त्यते) यस्य चोच्चै स श्रीमा (मान्) सवभुवास्त्र-
 34 तिय³ गुणा (ण) गणो दि (दी) णवैरो नरेन्द्र [॥११॥*] तत मेकलाय (या) उत्तरराष्ट्रे⁴ पा [ञ्च]⁵ ग-
 35 त्तिविषये वर्द्धमानके ।⁵ ग्रामकूटद्रोणाग्रकनायकदेववारिकगण्डक-
 36 प्रमुखा (खान्) सवा (वा) नेव यथाप्रतिवासिन समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु
 37 महैयपादै⁶ रय ग्रासा (म) साद्र[गा]⁷ सोपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य) सनि-
 38 धि सोपनिधि⁸ श्वो (श्चो) रदण्डवर्जत⁹ चतु सि (सी) मापर्यन्त आचन्द्रार्कक्षित (ति) -

Third Plate

- 39 तारकानिरोधेन मात (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृध (द्ध) ये वत्ससगोत्रश्रीमा-
 40 द्विच (द्धच) न्दिनलोहितसरस्व (स्वा) मिन (ने) प्रतिपादिते (तइ) त्यवगम्य यथोचितभागभो-
 41 गेनाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भविष्यमिति [।*] स्वयमाज्ञापना [।*] ये चास्मद्वृक्षे¹⁰ समुत्प-
 42 द्यन्ते राजान¹¹ स्तैरपीय दत्तिरनुमोदनीयानुपालनीया च [।*] य¹² चैमा (ता) दत्ति (त्ति) विलोपमा-
 43 प (पा) दयिष्यति स पञ्चभिर्महा [पा*] तकै सयुवत [*] स्य (स्या) दिति [।*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुवता राज-
 44 भिस्सागरादिभि [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल (ल्म्)¹³ [॥१२॥] षष्टि वर्षस-
 45 हस्त्राणि स्वर्ग (र्ग) मोदति भूमिद [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१३॥*] स्व-
 46 दत्ता (त्ता) परदत्ता (त्ता) वा (वा) यत्नाद्रक्ष नराध (धि) प [।*] मही (ही) महिमता श्रेष्ठ
 47 दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन [म्*] [॥१४॥*]
 48 समाप्त चेद शासन (नम्) [॥*] प्रवर्द्धमान ।¹⁴ विजयराज्यसवत्सरे २ भ (भा) द्रपदकृष्णत्र-
 49 योदश्या पुष्यनक्षत्रेण [।*] लिखित¹⁵ ञ्चेद शासन राहसिकेशानपुत्रेण शिवेनो-
 49 त्कीर्णञ्च सुवर्णकारेश्वरपुत्रेण मिहिरकेने (णे) ति ॥

TRANSLATION¹⁶

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) There was in the lineage of the **Pāṇdavas** of extremely spotless glory and abundant lustre, a king of **Mēkalā**, who acquired wide fame and became foremost among the lords of the earth—who, by his own glorious deeds, has, for all time, become renowned in this world by the name of **Jayabala**, a disposer of Fortune, who had a charming form and was adorned with a multitude of excellent qualities

(V 2) He had a son, who resembled the lord of Vatsa¹⁷ (i.e. Udayana), who attained victories in battles, who was famous, compassionate, endowed with virtues and conversant

¹ Metre of this and the next verse *Sragdharā*

² Chhabra ingeniously suggests the reading पद्मद्युति in place of पपदति

³ Read सार्वभौमप्रथित- as suggested by Chhabra

⁴ This *akshara* appears more like ष्ठ than like ञ्च However, I have adopted Chhabra's reading

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁶ Perhaps मदीयपादै is intended, though it would look queer in the donor's mouth

⁷ Read सोद्रङ्ग-

⁸ This *visarga* is superfluous

⁹ Read चोरदण्डवर्जम् This expression should precede अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य)

¹⁰ Read -द्वशे

¹¹ This *visarga* is superfluous

¹² This *visarga* is also superfluous

¹³ Metre of this and the following two verses *Anushtubh.*

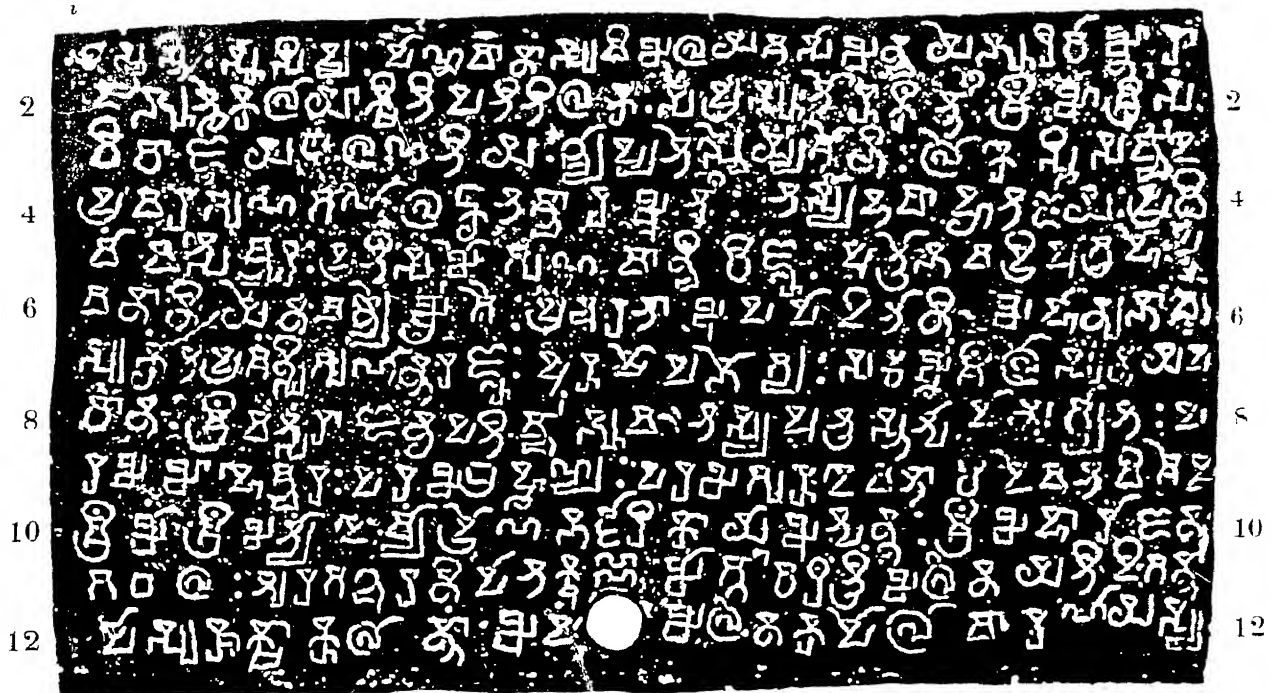
¹⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁵ This *anusvāra* is superfluous

¹⁶ In this I have derived some help from Dr Chhabra's translation of this record

¹⁷ This is according to the proposed emendation *Vatsēśvara-pratisamō* If the text is to be interpreted as it stands, Vatsēśvara will be the same as Vatsarāja mentioned in the next verse

BAMHANI PLATES OF BHARATABALA



26
 28
 30
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 34
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 48

with religious rites, (*and*) who made the gardens of the houses of his enemies crowded with wild beasts.¹

(V 3) There was the king, the illustrious **Vatsarāja**, who was magnanimous, who extolled the good deeds (*of others*), who could differentiate between merits and was obliging to (*his*) people, righteous and devoted to good policy

(Line 8) His son was the illustrious **Mahārāja Nāgabala**, born of the illustrious (*queen*) **Drōṇabhattachārikā**, who meditated on his feet, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, who was (*regarded as*) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity and was possessed of royal fortune

(V 4) As he marched along, the earth, the paths on which were pounded by the hoofs of (*his*) horses, obscured the quarters, their farthest regions becoming dry and disturbed by dust, (*but*) his elephants, whose temples were soiled with the rutting juice, immediately restored order to them, making them wet with the spray (*of their rut*)

(Line 13) Then there is his son, the illustrious **Mahārāja Bharata**, born of the illustrious queen **Indrabhattachārikā**, who meditates on his feet, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, (*and*) who (*is regarded as*) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity

(V 5) From her who was endowed with the qualities of compassion and good nature as also with generosity and wisdom, there was born the son (*known as*) **Indra** possessed of a spotless and lovely lustre, even as Kārttikēya was born from (Pārvatī) the daughter of the lord of mountains

(V 6) He is (*the god*) Indra in the destruction (*of his enemies*) and (*the god*) Fire brilliant with lustre, he is amiable and steadfast in his adherence to good behaviour, he has attained authority and eminence in consequence of the (*sacred*) *mantras* recited by the Brāhmanas, his appearance makes good persons happy and leads to attainment, by the people, of religious merit and prosperity, he is always honoured by good persons with presents of wealth even as sacrificial fire kindled on the altar is with offerings (*of ghee etc*)

(V 7) He, the powerful one, who has covered all regions with (*the dead bodies of*) the multitude of the mighty and roaring enemies whom he has forcibly overthrown even as an excellent quarter-elephant does with the lofty, thickly growing and resounding trees which it uproots May the Earth, who yields (*the three objects of*) religious merit, wealth and enjoyment, produce abundant prosperity due to good government throughout the entire dominion of this king who thus exerts himself²

(V 8) The illustrious king **Bharata**, the foremost among the lords of the earth, resembles (Indra) the lord of gods, in valour—(*he*) who has given shelter to the Fortune of the multitude of foes slain by him, when she resorted to his arm

The matchless one -

(V 9) who is, as it were, the Gangā herself, descended here from the world of gods, sanctifying the peoples—(*she*) who has character, bright and spotless like crystal, which is purified by restraints and vows even as the Gangā has a pure stream of crystal-like white and clear water, which flows within its banks, (*and*) who is endowed with a multitude of tranquility and other virtues just as the Gangā has its waves of water,

(V 10) who, (*named*) **Lōkaprakāśā**, has become the best royal consort of the king Bharatabala, whose fame is (*lovely*) like the moon-beams, who, being born in a family of the

¹ He made the palaces of his enemies desolate

² For the construction see above. p. 85, n. 3.

gods, has become highly renowned, who, by her constant pursuit of (*the three purushārthas* of) religious merit, prosperity and happiness, has dispelled the darkness of ignorance (*and*) has become extremely resplendent in the world¹, (*and*) who has attained an eminent status with her sons and grandsons, who, lion-like princes as they are, are devoted to justice and discipline.

(V 11) That illustrious king², the sovereign, who is endowed with a multitude of excellences, who has destroyed his enemies, whose pair of feet, having the grace of full-blown lotuses, and rubbed by the heads of several feudatory princes subdued by his perfect triad of powers, has overcome all regions and whose birth is highly extolled by the people as being in the famous Lunar rate—

(Line 34) [*He*] issues the following order to all residents concerned headed by (*the officials, viz*) the *Grāmakūta*, the Chief of the *Dr̥ṇāgraka*, the *Devavārīka* and the *Gandakas* in (*the village*) **Vardhamānaka** in the *vishaya* of **Pañchagartā** (*included*) in the **Uttara-rāshtra** (Northern Division) of **Mēkalā**—

(Line 36) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of Our father and mother and of Ourselves, We have donated this village extending to its four boundaries,—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*⁴, together with treasures and deposits, and (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by (*Our*) soldiers and policemen except for punishing thieves,—to the illustrious **Lōhitasarasvāmin** of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā*, (*to be enjoyed by him and his successors*) as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars will endure

Knowing this, you should obey his orders and offer him the *bhāga* and *bhōga* according to custom.”

This command has been given by Me personally And those kings also who will be born in Our family should consent to and maintain this gift And whosoever will cause obstruction in (*the enjoyment of*) this grant, will incur (*the guilt of*) the five great sins

(*Here occur three benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 47) This charter is concluded In the **year 2** of the increasingly victorious reign, on the **thirteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada**, the **nakshatra** being **Pushya**.

This charter has been written by **Śiva**, son of the *Rāhasika* **Isana** and engraved by **Mihiraka**, son of the goldsmith **Īśvara**.

¹ There is obviously a pun on her name *Lōkaprakāśā*

² There is a pun on the word *narendra* which means here (1) a king (*viz* Bharatabala) and the Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna The translation given above is with reference to the first meaning In the second, *saumya vamśa* will have to be taken in the sense of ‘a family of gentle nature,’ The Vākātakas were Brāhmanas by caste Hence their family is described here as gentle by nature.

³ For these officials, see above, p 84

⁴ *Udranga* and *uparikara* correspond to the *bhāga* and *bhōga* mentioned below in line 40 *Udranga* was probably a land-tax while *uparikara* signified some miscellaneous taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the MSM., Ch. VII, vv. 130-32.

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84. He published his reading of the larger of them, together with facsimiles of both, in his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol XXI, pp 97 f. They were next edited with facsimiles and a translation by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp 233 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The inscriptions are on a loose **slab** which was found lying on the ground outside the fort of Kuthārā near the village **Nachnē-kī-talāī**, about seven miles north-west of Jasō, the chief town of the former Jasō State, now included in Madhya Pradesh. Inscription No 20 is incomplete and is engraved on one of the sides of the slab, while inscription No 21 which is complete is on the face of it. The former inscription was left incomplete probably because that side of the stone was found too rough. The inscription was therefore commenced again and finished on what is now the front side of the slab.

The writing of No 20 covers a space of about 1' 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, that of No 21, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. In the centre of the larger inscription there is the figure of a wheel which Jayaswal took to be a characteristic symbol of the Vākātakas. The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. There has been a great difference of opinion about the age of these inscriptions, which, as stated below, refer themselves to the reign of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna**. Dr Fleet did not examine this question. Perhaps there was no need to do so as there was only one Vākātaka king of the name Prithivīshēna known when he edited these records. He naturally assigned them to Prithivīshēna I, mentioned in the grants of Pravarasēna II¹. The Bālāghāt plates which were discovered later have brought to notice another king of that name, *viz*, Prithivīshēna II, who was the fourth lineal descendant of Prithivīshēna I. Since then scholars have been sharply divided on the question of the identity of the Prithivīshēna during whose reign the present records were incised. Some of them such as Dr Sukthankar², Dr Jayaswal³ and Prof H C Raychaudhuri⁴ thought that he was the first king of that name. Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, however, pointed out that the characters of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions were later in date than those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatiguptā⁵. He therefore identified the Prithivīshēna of these inscriptions with Prithivīshēna II of the Bālāghāt plates. The same opinion has been expressed by Prof Jouveau-Dubreuil⁶ and Dr R C Majumdar⁷. Recently Dr D C Sircar has reopened the question by pointing out that 'the palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those of even the Bāsīm plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pravarasēna I⁸'. He has drawn pointed attention to the triangular form of

¹ C II, Vol III, p 233

² Ep Ind, Vol XVII, p 13

³ History of India, etc, p 73

⁴ Political History of Ancient India, p 541

⁵ Ep Ind, Vol XVII, p 362

⁶ Ind Ant Vol LV, pp 103 f

⁷ J R A S B, Vol XII, pp 1 f

⁸ H C I P, Vol. III, p 179, n 1.

v and the old forms of *t* and *j* occurring in the present inscriptions. He is therefore definitely of the opinion that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I. In view of this conflict of opinions it is necessary to examine this question rather closely. Dr Sircar seems to think that the triangular form of *v* went out of use soon after the time of Prithivīshēna I and so these records cannot be referred to the reign of Prithivīshēna II, when the rectangular form of that letter was in vogue. This is not borne out by the inscriptions of the age. As a matter of fact, the rectangular form of *v* had come into use even before the time of Prithivīshēna I. We notice several instances of it in the Ēran stone inscription¹ of Samudragupta; see *kulavadhūh*, line 20, *vichintya*, line 24 etc. On the other hand, the triangular form of *v* did not disappear soon after the age of Prithivīshēna I, for we find it used in the Sāñchī inscription² of Chandragupta II, dated G 93, see e.g. *mahāvīhārē*, line 1, *sarvva-guna-*, line 8 etc. Indeed, it continued in use much longer, for while the inscriptions of the Vākātakas generally use the rectangular *v*, the Pōdāgadh stone inscription of Skandavarman³ and the Kesaribēdā plates of Arthapati⁴ use the triangular form of that letter, see e.g. *Bhavadattasya*, line 3, and *a-pravēśyam*, line 8 in the former, and *vibhah*, line 1 and *dhruva-*, line 7 in the latter. The Nala kings Skandavarman and Arthapati did not flourish earlier than Prithivīshēna II⁵. It is noteworthy that all the inscriptions mentioned above are incised in box-headed characters. The triangular form of *v* is therefore no indisputable evidence which would compel us to assign the present records to Prithivīshēna I. The same can be said of the so-called old forms of *j* and *t*, for these also occur in the Pōdāgadh inscription. It is true that the form of *v* in the present inscriptions is more angular than that seen in the other records mentioned above, but angularity is no sure sign of an earlier age. As pointed out by Kielhorn,⁶ the characters of Pravarasēna II's grants are more angular than those of the Bālāghāt plates of his grandson Prithivīshēna II. Besides, it is not unlikely that the writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was influenced by the form of *v* current in that locality. We must note in this connection that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are the only records in box-headed characters from the Baghēlkhand region. The standard form of characters current in that locality was nail-headed as seen in the Mjhgawām plates⁷ of Hastin and the Bamhanī plates⁸ of Bharatabala. The writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was apparently not quite familiar with the box-headed characters⁹ though he wrote the records in them evidently to please the Vākātaka overlord. He therefore seems to have unconsciously imitated the form of *v* from the nail-headed alphabet with which he was more familiar. We find an analogous instance in the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. The writer of that grant, who probably hailed from North India, was not quite familiar with box-headed characters which were current in Vidarbha. He commenced to write in them the legend on the seal, but after writing the first four letters viz. *Vākātaka*, he gave them up and wrote the remaining legend in nail-headed characters. The triangular form

¹ C II, Vol III, plate facing, p 20

² *Ibid*, Vol III, plate facing, p 28

³ *Ep Ind*, Vol XXI, pp 153 f

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol XXVIII, p 12 f

⁵ Dr Sircar thinks that the Nala king Skandavarman was a contemporary of the Early Chālukya king Kirtivarman I (567-97 A.C.). See *HCIP*, Vol. III, p 189

⁶ *Ep Ind*, Vol IX, p 268

⁷ C II, Vol III, pp 106 ff.

⁸ No 19, above

⁹ As observed by Sukthankar, the letters of these epigraphs are uncouth in appearance.

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION (NO I) OF VYĀGHRADEVA



Scale: about Three-sevenths

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICES (P. L. O.)

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀĪ STONE INSCRIPTION (No. II) OF VYĀGHRADEVA



2

2

D. C. BIRCH

REG. NO. 3977 E/36 1103 62

Scale about Three-sevenths

PRINTED AT THE SURVEY OF INDIA OFFICE, P. L. O.

of *v* is therefore no sure sign of the early age of these inscriptions¹ The forms of *j* and *t* also do not preclude the view that **these records belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna II**²

The **language** is Sanskrit and both the inscriptions are in prose As regards **orthography**, the only point that need be noticed is the doubling of *dh* before *y* in *-ānuddhyāta-* in line 2 of No. 21

Inscription No. 20, which is incomplete, mentions in the first line the name of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna**. The name of his feudatory **Vyaghra** is incompletely incised in line 2 No. 21 mentions the names of both and records that Vyāghradēva made something, perhaps a temple, a well or a tank, for the religious merit of his father and mother. The record is not dated, but since it belongs to the reign of Prithivīshēna II as shown above, it may be referred to the period 470 to 490 A.C. Vyāghradēva of the present inscriptions is probably identical with the king Vyāghra of the Uchchhakalpa dynasty who was ruling over the region in the same period The latter's son Javanātha was ruling in G. 174 and G. 177³ His reign may therefore have extended from G. 170 to G. 190 **Vyāghra**, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *circa* G. 150 to G. 170 i.e. from 470 A.C. to 490 A.C. **He was thus a contemporary of the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II.**

TEXT⁴

No. 20

- 1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महा⁵राजश्चि (श्री) पृथिवि (वी) षेण-
2 . . [व्या][ध्र⁷]

No. 21

- 1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महाराजश्चि (श्री)-
2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादा⁶नुद्धृतो
3 व्याघ्रदेवो मातापित्रो[^{*}] पुन्या (ण्या) त्थ
4 कृतमिति⁷[^{*}]

TRANSLATION⁸

Vyāghradēva who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, has made (*this*) for the religious merit of (*his*) mother and father

¹ This form of *v* occurs throughout in the Bamhanī plates of Narēndrasēna's feudatory Bharatabala

² For the examination of other arguments advanced in support of the view that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I, see Introduction, pp. xii f, above

³ *C II*, Vol. III, pp. 117 and 121 The dates of the Uchchhakalpa kings are recorded in the Gupta, not the Kalachuri, era as shown by me in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 171 f

⁴ From the facsimiles facing page 234 in *Fleets C II*, Vol. III

⁵ This *akshara* was at first omitted and then written below the line

⁶ This *akshara* was at first omitted and subsequently written below the line

⁷ Read कृतवानिति

⁸ This is a translation of No. 21 No. 20 is fragmentary and mentions only Vyāghra and the illustrious Prithivīshēna (II), the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas

GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr R D Banerji in 1919. It was edited for the first time with a facsimile and a translation by Dr V S Sukthankar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVII, pp 12 ff. It is edited here from the same facsimile.

The inscription is engraved on a detached **slab** of **stone** which Mr Banerji found lying at the bottom of a *dongā*, adjoining a hill called Maluhā-tongi near **Ganj** in the former Ajayagadh state, now included in Madhya Pradesh. Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the *dongā*. The findspot of the present inscription is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuthāā where the Nachnē-kī-talāi inscriptions were discovered¹.

The present inscription is much better preserved than the preceding two records of the same king. The writing covers a space 2' 1" by 1'. As in the Nachnē-kī-talāi inscriptions, there is in the centre of the first line the figure of a wheel. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling closely those of the preceding two records. As observed by Sukthankar, they are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance. The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose. The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in the two preceding inscriptions.

The inscription is of **Vyāghradēva**, who meditated on the feet of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna**. He was evidently a feudatory of the latter. The **object** of the inscription is to record that Vyāghradēva did something, perhaps a dam to stem the waters of a stream, for the religious merit of his parents. As shown before, this Vyāghra was probably identical with the homonymous prince of the Uchchakalpa dynasty who flourished in *circa* 470-90 A C². His suzerain was therefore probably the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II.

TEXT³

- 1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महाराज[श्चि]⁴ (श्री) -
- 2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादानुद्धचातो व्याघ्रदे-
- 3 वो मातापित्रो [*] पुन्या (ण्या) त्थे कृतमिति⁵ [! *]

TRANSLATION

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, has made (*thus*) for the religious merit of his mother and father.

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 12

² Sukthankar referred the record to the seventh century A C

³ From the facsimile facing page 12 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII

⁴ The superscript *i* is not clear

⁵ Read कृतवानिति

- Second Plate First Side*

- Second Plate Second Side*

- 14 Metre *Mālinī*
 15 This mark of punctuation is superfluous
 16 There is a wrong *sandhu* here प्रतिविहितमा and अतीव Dissolve शश्वद्धर्मार्थकामप्रतिविहितमा as follows:— शश्वद्धर्मार्थकामं प्रतिविहित तम यया सा Thus dissolved, the compound makes the queen's name लोकप्रकाशा significant.

- 31 तै राजसि (सि) घै (है) प्रतिष्ठा [म्*]¹ ॥ [१०॥*] योसौ सपूर्णशवितत्रयविनिपतितानेकसामन्त-
 32 मूर्द्धप्रोदघृष्टोत्फुल्लपपदति² चलनय (यु) गाक्रान्तदिक्र (वच) क्रवाल [।*] सौम्य सो-
 33 यण्य (ञ्च) वश प्रभव इति जने कीर्त्यते (त्यते) यस्य चोच्चै स श्रीमा (मान्) सवभुवास्त्र-
 34 तिय³ गुणा (ण) गणो दि (दी) णवैरो नरेन्द्र [॥११॥*] तत मेकलाय (या) उत्तररा [ष्ट्रे] पा [ञ्च]⁴ ग-
 35 त्तिविषये वद्धमानके⁵ ।⁵ ग्रामकूटद्रोणाग्रकनायकदेववारिकगण्डक-
 36 प्रमुखा (खान्) सवा (र्वा) नेव यथाप्रतिवासिन समाज्ञापयति विदितमस्तु
 37 महैयपादे⁶ रय ग्रासा (म) साद्र [गा]⁷ सोपरिकर अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य) सनि-
 38 धि सोपनिधि⁸ श्वो (श्चो) रदण्डवर्जत⁹ चतु सि (सी) मापर्यन्त आचन्द्रार्कक्षित (ति) -

Third Plate

- 39 तारकानिरोधेन मात (ता) पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृध (द्ध) ये वत्ससगोत्रश्रीमा-
 40 द्विच (द्धच) न्दिनलोहितसरस्व (स्वा) मिन (ने) प्रतिपादिते (तइ) त्यवगम्य यथोचितभागभो-
 41 गेनाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयैर्भवितव्यमिति [।*] स्वयमाज्ञापना [।*] ये चास्मद्वड्शे¹⁰ समुत्प-
 42 द्यन्ते राजान¹¹ स्तैरपीय दत्तिरनुमोदनीयानुपालनीया च [।*] य¹² श्चैमा (ता) दत्ति (त्ति) विलोपमा-
 43 प (पा) दयिष्यति स पञ्चभिर्महा [पा*] तकै सयुवत [।*] स्य (स्या) दिति [।*] बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
 44 भिस्सागरादिभि [।*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फल (लम्)¹³ [॥१२॥] पष्टि वर्षस-
 45 हस्राणि स्वर्ग (गर्ग) मोदति भूमिद [।*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् [॥१३॥*] स्व-
 46 दत्ता (त्ता) परदत्ता (त्ता) वा (वा) यत्नाद्रक्ष नराध (धि) प [।*] मही (ही) महिमता श्रेष्ठ
 47 दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन [म्*] [॥१४॥*]
 48 समाप्त चेद शासन (नम्) [॥*] प्रवर्द्धमान¹⁴ विजयराज्यसवत्सरे २ भ (भा) द्रपदकृष्णत्र-
 49 योदश्या पुष्यनक्षत्रेण [।*] लिखित¹⁵ चेद शासन राहसिकेशानपुत्रेण शिवेनो-
 49 त्कीर्णञ्च सुवर्णकारेश्वरपुत्रेण मिहिरकेने (णे) ति ॥

TRANSLATION¹⁶

Success! Hail!

(Verse 1) There was in the lineage of the **Pāṇḍavas** of extremely spotless glory and abundant lustre, a king of **Mēkalā**, who acquired wide fame and became foremost among the lords of the earth—who, by his own glorious deeds, has, for all time, become renowned in this world by the name of **Jayabala**, a disposer of Fortune, who had a charming form and was adorned with a multitude of excellent qualities

(V 2) He had a son, who resembled the lord of Vatsa¹⁷ (i.e. Udayana), who attained victories in battles, who was famous, compassionate, endowed with virtues and conversant

¹ Metre of this and the next verse *Sragdhanā*

² Chhabra ingeniously suggests the reading पद्मद्युति in place of पपदति

³ Read सार्वभौमप्रथित- as suggested by Chhabra

⁴ This *akshara* appears more like षड than like ञ्च However, I have adopted Chhabra's reading.

⁵ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

⁶ Perhaps मदीयपादे is intended, though it would look queer in the donor's mouth

⁷ Read सोद्रङ्ग-

⁸ This *visarga* is superfluous

⁹ Read चोरदण्डवर्जम् This expression should precede अचाटभटप्रवेशी (श्य)

¹⁰ Read -द्वशे

¹¹ This *visarga* is superfluous

¹² This *visarga* is also superfluous

¹³ Metre of this and the following two verses *Amushtubh*

¹⁴ This sign of punctuation is superfluous

¹⁵ This *anusvāra* is superfluous

¹⁶ In this I have derived some help from Dr Chhabra's translation of this record

¹⁷ This is according to the proposed emendation *Vatsēśvara-pratisamō* If the text is to be interpreted as it stands, Vatsēśvara will be the same as Vatsarāja mentioned in the next verse

with religious rites, (*and*) who made the gardens of the houses of his enemies crowded with wild beasts ¹

(V 3) There was the king, the illustrious **Vatsarāja**, who was magnanimous, who extolled the good deeds (*of others*), who could differentiate between merits and was obliging to (*his*) people, righteous and devoted to good policy

(Line 8) His son was the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Nāgabala**, born of the illustrious *queen* **Drōnabhattachārikā**, who meditated on his feet, who was a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva) and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, who was (*regarded as*) the most revered teacher a deity and the supreme divinity and was possessed of royal fortune

(V 4) As he marched along, the earth, the paths on which were pounded by the hoofs of (*his*) horses, obscured the quarters, their farthest regions becoming dry and disturbed by dust, (*but*) his elephants, whose temples were soiled with the rutting juice, immediately restored order to them, making them wet with the spray (*of their rut*)

(Line 13) Then there is his son, the illustrious *Mahārāja* **Bharata**, born of the illustrious queen **Indrabhattachārikā**, who meditates on his feet, who is a devout worshipper of Mahēśvara and a great patron of the Brāhmanas, (*and*) who (*is regarded as*) the most revered teacher, a deity and the supreme divinity

(V 5) From her who was endowed with the qualities of compassion and good nature as also with generosity and wisdom, there was born the son (*known as*) **Indra** possessed of a spotless and lovely lustre, even as Kārttikēya was born from (Pārvatī) the daughter of the lord of mountains

(V 6) He is (*the god*) Indra in the destruction (*of his enemies*) and (*the god*) Fire brilliant with lustre, he is amiable and steadfast in his adherence to good behaviour, he has attained authority and eminence in consequence of the (*sacred*) *mantras* recited by the Brāhmanas, his appearance makes good persons happy and leads to attainment, by the people, of religious merit and prosperity, he is always honoured by good persons with presents of wealth even as sacrificial fire kindled on the altar is with offerings (*of ghee etc*)

(V 7) He, the powerful one, who has covered all regions with (*the dead bodies of*) the multitude of the mighty and roaring enemies whom he has forcibly overthrown even as an excellent quarter-elephant does with the lofty, thickly growing and resounding trees which it uproots May the Earth, who yields (*the three objects of*) religious merit, wealth and enjoyment, produce abundant prosperity due to good government throughout the entire dominion of this king who thus exerts himself ²

(V 8) The illustrious king **Bharata**, the foremost among the lords of the earth, resembles (Indra) the lord of gods, in valour—(*he*) who has given shelter to the Fortune of the multitude of foes slain by him, when she resorted to his arm

The matchless one -

(V 9) who is, as it were, the Gangā herself, descended here from the world of gods, sanctifying the peoples—(*she*) who has character, bright and spotless like crystal, which is purified by restraints and vows even as the Gangā has a pure stream of crystal-like white and clear water, which flows within its banks, (*and*) who is endowed with a multitude of tranquility and other virtues just as the Gangā has its waves of water,

(V 10) who, (*named*) **Lōkaprakāśā**, has become the best royal consort of the king Bharatabala, whose fame is (*lovely*) like the moon-beams, who, being born in a family of the

¹ He made the palaces of his enemies desolate

² For the construction, see above, p 85, n 3.

gods, has become highly renowned, who, by her constant pursuit of (*the three purushārthas of*) religious merit, prosperity and happiness, has dispelled the darkness of ignorance (*and*) has become extremely resplendent in the world¹, (*and*) who has attained an eminent status with her sons and grandsons, who, lion-like princes as they are, are devoted to justice and discipline

(V 11) That illustrious king², the sovereign, who is endowed with a multitude of excellences, who has destroyed his enemies, whose pair of feet, having the grace of full-blown lotuses, and rubbed by the heads of several feudatory princes subdued by his perfect triad of powers, has overcome all regions and whose birth is highly extolled by the people as being in the famous Lunar rate—

(Line 34) [*He*] issues the following order to all residents concerned headed by (*the officials, viz*) the *Grāmakūta*, the Chief of the *Drōnāgraka*, the *Devavāraka* and the *Gandakas* in (*the village*) **Vardhamānaka** in the *viśhaya* of **Pañchagartā** (*included*) in the **Uttara-rāshtra** (Northern Division) of **Mēkalā**—

(Line 36) “Be it known to you that for the increase of the religious merit of Our father and mother and of Ourselves, We have donated this village extending to its four boundaries,—together with *udranga* and *uparikara*⁴, together with treasures and deposits, and (*with the privilege that it is*) not to be entered by (*Our*) soldiers and policemen except for punishing thieves,—to the illustrious **Lōhitasarasvāmin** of the Vatsa *gōtra* and the Mādhyandina *śākhā*, (*to be enjoyed by him and his successors*) as long as the moon, the sun, the earth and the stars will endure.

Knowing this, you should obey his orders and offer him the *bhāga* and *bhōga* according to custom ”

This command has been given by Me personally And those kings also who will be born in Our family should consent to and maintain this gift And whosoever will cause obstruction in (*the enjoyment of*) this grant, will incur (*the guilt of*) the five great sins

(*Here occur three benedictive and imprecatory verses*)

(Line 47) This charter is concluded In the **year 2** of the increasingly victorious reign, on the **thirteenth** (*lunar day*) of the **dark** (*fortnight*) of **Bhādrapada**, the **nakshatra** being **Pushya**.

This charter has been written by **Śiva**, son of the *Rāhasika* **Isana** and engraved by **Mihiraka**, son of the goldsmith **Īśvara**.

¹ There is obviously a pun on her name *Lōkaprakāśā*

² There is a pun on the word *narendra* which means here (1) a king (*viz* Bharatabala) and the Vākātaka king Narēndrasēna The translation given above is with reference to the first meaning In the second, *saumya vamśa* will have to be taken in the sense of ‘a family of gentle nature,’ The Vākātakas were Brāhmanas by caste. Hence their family is described here as gentle by nature.

³ For these officials, see above, p 84

⁴ *Udranga* and *uparikara* correspond to the *bhāga* and *bhōga* mentioned below in line 40. *Udranga* was probably a land-tax while *uparikara* signified some miscellaneous taxes in kind such as are mentioned in the MSM, Ch. VII, vv. 130-32.

NACHNĒ-KĪ-TALĀI STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THESE two inscriptions were discovered by General Cunningham in 1883-84. He published his reading of the larger of them, together with facsimiles of both, in his *Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India*, Vol XXI, pp 97 f. They were next edited with facsimiles and a translation by Dr Fleet in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol III, pp 233 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles.

The inscriptions are on a loose **slab** which was found lying on the ground outside the fort of Kuthārā near the village **Nachnē-kī-talāi**, about seven miles north-west of Jasō, the chief town of the former Jasō State, now included in Madhya Pradesh. Inscription No 20 is incomplete and is engraved on one of the sides of the slab, while inscription No 21 which is complete is on the face of it. The former inscription was left incomplete probably because that side of the stone was found too rough. The inscription was therefore commenced again and finished on what is now the front side of the slab.

The writing of No 20 covers a space of about 1' 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ " broad by 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ " high, that of No 21, about 1' 9" broad by 1' 1" high. In the centre of the larger inscription there is the figure of a wheel which Jayaswal took to be a characteristic symbol of the Vākātakas. The **characters** belong to the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. There has been a great difference of opinion about the age of these inscriptions, which, as stated below, refer themselves to the reign of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivishēna**. Dr Fleet did not examine this question. Perhaps there was no need to do so as there was only one Vākātaka king of the name Prithivishēna known when he edited these records. He naturally assigned them to Prithivishēna I, mentioned in the grants of Pravarasēna II¹. The Bālāghāt plates which were discovered later have brought to notice another king of that name, *viz*, Prithivishēna II, who was the fourth lineal descendant of Prithivishēna I. Since then scholars have been sharply divided on the question of the identity of the Prithivishēna during whose reign the present records were incised. Some of them such as Dr Sukthankar², Dr Jayaswal³ and Prof H C Raychaudhuri⁴ thought that he was the first king of that name. Rao Bahadur K N Dikshit, however, pointed out that the characters of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions were later in date than those of the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatigupta⁵. He therefore identified the Prithivishēna of these inscriptions with Prithivishēna II of the Bālāghāt plates. The same opinion has been expressed by Prof. Jouveau-Dubreuil⁶ and Dr R C Majumdar⁷. Recently Dr D C Sircar has reopened the question by pointing out that 'the palaeographical peculiarities of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are undoubtedly earlier than those of even the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II, a grandson of Pravarasēna I⁸'. He has drawn pointed attention to the triangular form of

¹ C II, Vol III, p 233

² Ep Ind, Vol XVII, p 13

³ History of India, etc, p 73

⁴ Political History of Ancient India, p 541

⁵ Ep Ind, Vol XVII, p 362

⁶ Ind Ant Vol LV, pp 103 f

⁷ J.R.A.S.B., Vol XII, pp 1 f

⁸ H.C.I.P., Vol III, p. 179, n. 1.

v and the old forms of *t* and *j* occurring in the present inscriptions. He is therefore definitely of the opinion that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I. In view of this conflict of opinions it is necessary to examine this question rather closely. Dr Sircar seems to think that the triangular form of *v* went out of use soon after the time of Prithivīshēna I and so these records cannot be referred to the reign of Prithivīshēna II, when the rectangular form of that letter was in vogue. This is not borne out by the inscriptions of the age. As a matter of fact, the rectangular form of *v* had come into use even before the time of Prithivīshēna I. We notice several instances of it in the Ēran stone inscription¹ of Samudragupta, see *kulavadhūh*, line 20, *vichintya*, line 24 etc. On the other hand, the triangular form of *v* did not disappear soon after the age of Prithivīshēna I, for we find it used in the Sāñchī inscription² of Chandragupta II, dated G 93, see e.g. *mahāvihārē*, line 1, *sarvva-guna-*, line 8 etc. Indeed, it continued in use much longer, for while the inscriptions of the Vākātakas generally use the rectangular *v*, the Pōdāgadh stone inscription of Skandavarman³ and the Kesaribēdā plates of Arthapati⁴ use the triangular form of that letter, see e.g. *Bhavadattasya*, line 3, and *a-pravēśyam*, line 8 in the former, and *vibhah*, line 1 and *dhruva-*, line 7 in the latter. The Nala kings Skandavarman and Arthapati did not flourish earlier than Prithivīshēna II⁵. It is noteworthy that all the inscriptions mentioned above are incised in box-headed characters. The triangular form of *v* is therefore no indisputable evidence which would compel us to assign the present records to Prithivīshēna I. The same can be said of the so-called old forms of *j* and *t*, for these also occur in the Pōdāgadh inscription. It is true that the form of *v* in the present inscriptions is more angular than that seen in the other records mentioned above, but angularity is no sure sign of an earlier age. As pointed out by Kielhorn,⁶ the characters of Pravarasēna II's grants are more angular than those of the Bālāghāt plates of his grandson Prithivīshēna II. Besides, it is not unlikely that the writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was influenced by the form of *v* current in that locality. We must note in this connection that the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions are the only records in box-headed characters from the Baghēlkhand region. The standard form of characters current in that locality was nail-headed as seen in the Mjhgawām plates⁷ of Hastin and the Bamhani plates⁸ of Bharatabala. The writer of the Nachnā and Ganj inscriptions was apparently not quite familiar with the box-headed characters⁹ though he wrote the records in them evidently to please the Vākātaka overlord. He therefore seems to have unconsciously imitated the form of *v* from the nail-headed alphabet with which he was more familiar. We find an analogous instance in the Poonā plates of Prabhāvatīguptā. The writer of that grant, who probably hailed from North India, was not quite familiar with box-headed characters which were current in Vīdārbha. He commenced to write in them the legend on the seal, but after writing the first four letters viz. *Vākātaka*, he gave them up and wrote the remaining legend in nail-headed characters. The triangular form

¹ *CII*, Vol. III, plate facing, p. 20

² *Ibid*, Vol. III, plate facing, p. 28

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f.

⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 12 f.

⁵ Dr Sircar thinks that the Nala king Skandavarman was a contemporary of the Early Chālukya king Kirtivarman I (567-97 A.C.). See *HCIP*, Vol. III, p. 189.

⁶ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 268

⁷ *CII*, Vol. III, pp. 106 ff.

⁸ No. 19, above

⁹ As observed by Sukthankar, the letters of these epigraphs are uncouth in appearance.

of *v* is therefore no sure sign of the early age of these inscriptions¹ The forms of *j* and *t* also do not preclude the view that **these records belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna II**².

The **language** is Sanskrit and both the inscriptions are in prose As regards **orthography**, the only point that need be noticed is the doubling of *dh* before *y* in *-ānuddhyāta-* in line 2 of No 21

Inscription No 20, which is incomplete, mentions in the first line the name of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna**. The name of his feudatory **Vyaghra** is incompletely incised in line 2 No 21 mentions the names of both and records that Vyāghradēva made something, perhaps a temple, a well or a tank, for the religious merit of his father and mother. The record is not dated, but since it belongs to the reign of Prithivīshēna II as shown above, it may be referred to the period 470 to 490 A C Vyāghradēva of the present inscriptions is probably identical with the king Vyāghra of the Uchchhakalpa dynasty who was ruling over the region in the same period The latter's son Jayanātha was ruling in G. 174 and G 177³ His reign may therefore have extended from G 170 to G 190. **Vyāghra**, his father, was therefore probably ruling from *circa* G 150 to G 170 i.e. from 470 A C to 490 A C **He was thus a contemporary of the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II.**

TEXT⁴

No 20

- 1 वाकाटकाणा (नां) महाराजश्चि (श्री) पृथिवि (वी) षेण-
2 . . [व्या][घ्र?]

No 21

- 1 वाकाटकाणा (नां) महाराजश्चि (श्री)-
2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादा⁶नुद्धचतो
3 व्याघ्रदेवो मातापित्रो [*] पुन्या (ण्या) र्त्थे
4 कृतमिति⁷[1*]

TRANSLATION⁸

Vyāghradēva who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, has made (*this*) for the religious merit of (*his*) mother and father

¹ This form of *v* occurs throughout in the Bamhani plates of Narēndrasēna's feudatory Bharatabala

² For the examination of other arguments advanced in support of the view that these inscriptions belong to the reign of Prithivīshēna I, see Introduction, pp. xi f, above

³ *CII*, Vol III, pp 117 and 121 The dates of the Uchchhakalpa kings are recorded in the Gupta, not the Kalachuri, era as shown by me in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXIII, pp 171 f

⁴ From the facsimiles facing page 234 in *Fleets CII*, Vol. III

⁵ This *akshara* was at first omitted and then written below the line

⁶ This *akshara* was at first omitted and subsequently written below the line.

⁷ Read कृतवानिति

⁸ This is a translation of No 21. No 20 is fragmentary and mentions only Vyāghra and the illustrious Prithivīshēna (II), the *Mahārāja* of the Vākātakas

GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGHRADĒVA

THIS inscription was discovered by Mr R D Banerji in 1919 It was edited for the first time with a facsimile and a translation by Dr V S Sukthankar in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XVII, pp 12 ff It is edited here from the same facsimile

The inscription is engraved on a detached **slab** of **stone** which Mr Banerji found lying at the bottom of a *dongā*, adjoining a hill called Maluhā-tongi near **Ganj** in the former Ajayagadh state, now included in Madhya Pradesh Close by is a ruined stone structure, probably a dam to hold the waters of the stream passing along the dongā The findspot of the present inscription is not far removed from the ruined city of Kuthārā where the Nachnē-kī-talāi inscriptions were discovered¹

The present inscription is much better preserved than the preceding two records of the same king The writing covers a space 2' 1" by 1' As in the Nachnē-kī-talāi inscriptions, there is in the centre of the first line the figure of a wheel The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling closely those of the preceding two records As observed by Sukthankar, they are unequal in size and uncouth in appearance The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is in prose The **orthography** shows the same peculiarities as in the two preceding inscriptions

The inscription is of **Vyāghradēva**, who meditated on the feet of the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Prithivīshēna**. He was evidently a feudatory of the latter The **object** of the inscription is to record that Vyāghradēva did something, perhaps a dam to stem the waters of a stream, for the religious merit of his parents As shown before, this Vyāghra was probably identical with the homonymous prince of the Uchchakalpa dynasty who flourished in *circa* 470-90 A C² His suzerain was therefore probably the Vākātaka king Prithivīshēna II

TEXT³

- 1 वाकाटकाणा (ना) महाराज[श्चि]⁴ (श्री) -
- 2 पृथिवि (वी) षेणपादानुद्धयातो व्याघ्रदे-
- 3 वो मातापित्रो[*] पुन्या (प्या) र्थे कृतमिति⁵ [! *]

TRANSLATION

Vyāghradēva, who meditates on the feet of the illustrious **Prithivīshēna (II)**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**, has made (*thus*) for the religious merit of his mother and father

¹ *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII, p 12

² Sukthankar referred the record to the seventh century A C

³ From the facsimile facing page 12 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XVII

⁴ The superscript *i* is not clear.

⁵ Read कृतवानिति.

GANJ STONE INSCRIPTION OF VYĀGHRADEVA



Scale about One-third

RECEIVED AT THE SUBURBAN (H) 9 1 1 11

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

No 23: PLATE XXIII

BĀSIM PLATES OF VINDHYĀŚAKTI II

THESE plates were discovered by Pandit Vāsudev Śāstrī Dhanāgarē at **Bāsim**, the headquarters of the Bāsim tahsil of the Akōlā District in Vidarbha. There were first published with facsimiles by Dr. Y. K. Deshpande and D. B. Mahajan in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, Third Session, pp. 459 f. They were re-edited with fresh facsimiles by Mr. D. B. Mahajan and myself in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 137 f. They are edited here from the same facsimiles. The plates are in the possession of Mr. Dhanāgarē at Bāsim.

The **copper-plates** are four in number, each measuring 6 1" broad and 3 4" high. The first and fourth plates are inscribed on one side only, and the other two on both the sides. Their ends are neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims, still the inscription is in a good state of preservation. About 1 2" from the middle of the proper right edge of each plate, there is a round hole, 25" in diameter for the ring which holds the plates together. The ring, however, has no seal. The total weight of the plates together with the ring is 47½ *tōlās*. The inscription contains thirty lines of writing, which are equally divided on the six inscribed sides of the four plates.

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the grants of Pravarasēna II. The only peculiarities that need be noticed here are as follows:—The medial *au* is bipartite as in *-pautrasya*, line 3; *kh* is in some cases without a loop, cf. *ṛakkhadha*, line 25; *t* and *n* are not distinguished in many places, both being denoted by the same form, see *-vachanāt*, line 5, *hemanta*, line 28 and *anumannati*, line 26; the lingual *ṇ* has an identical form whether it is used as a subscript or a superscript letter, as in *a-hṛanna-dhāṇna*, line 20. **Numerical symbols** for 30, 7 and 4 occur in lines 28 and 29 of the text, those for 1 to 4 on the first inscribed side of the respective plates. Of these the symbol for 4 in line 29 is noteworthy, for it consists of the sign for *ka* with an additional curve, not at the top as usual, but at the right side of its horizontal bar. In the margin of the same plate, the symbol is exactly like *ka*. A final consonant is indicated by its short form without a box at the head; see *-vachanāt*, line 5. Finally, a crescent-like curve is used here and there as a mark of punctuation, which is redundant in most cases. The **language** of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Prakrit. The genealogical portion of the grant in lines 1-5 is in Sanskrit, the formal portion which follows is in Prakrit, but like the Hirahadgalli plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit. It is noteworthy that as in early Prakrit inscriptions of the Pallavas and Brihatphalāyanas, there are no benedictive or imprecatory verses at the end. The Sanskrit portion calls for no special notice except that the *gōtra* of the Vākātakas which is usually given as Viṣṇuvṛiddha appears here in the form Vṛishnivṛiddha. The former is evidently the correct form; for it is the only form of the *gōtra* given by the standard works on the *gotras* and *pravaras*. The Prakrit portion of the inscription deserves careful study; for this is one of the few copper-plate grants from south India which contain a detailed portion in Prakrit. Even in this portion, however, the language is influenced by Sanskrit; see, e.g. the Sanskrit expressions *svasti-śānti-vāchanē*, lines 8-9, *sa-mañcha-mahākaraṇa*, line 24 etc., which are inserted in the midst of

Prakrit sentences The present grant has many technical expressions mentioning exemptions granted to the donees which are common to the grants of Pallava Śivaskandavarman, but unlike the latter, the present inscription shows several instances of double consonants, though cases of single consonants doing duty for double ones are by no means rare; see e.g. *Chātuvejja-ggāma-majjātā*, line 19 and contrast *Revatjesi*, line 18 etc. In some respects the language of the present record does not strictly conform to the rules of Prakrit grammarians; see e.g. *tinṇā* in line 17 instead of *tinṇi* laid down by Vararuchi, VI, 56. Other noteworthy forms are *se* in line 19 in the sense of *tasya*, *ya* in lines 7, 19, 25 and 26 meaning *cha*, and the euphonic nasal *etthan-gāme* in line 9. As for the dialect used, it is, as might be expected, the **Māhārāshtrī**, see, e.g., *āpuno* (for the regular *appano*¹) in line 8, but it is curious to note that this record found in the heart of Māhārāshtra exhibits some peculiarities which are usually ascribed to the Śaurasēnī, see, e.g., the softening of *th* into *dh* in *Ādhivvanika*, line 9, and the verbal forms *rakkhadha*, *rakkhāpedha*, *pariharadha* and *pariharāpedha*² in lines 25 and 26 and *dāni*³ in line 8. On the other hand, we have the hardening of *d* into *t* in *majjātā*, line 19 as in the Paīśāchī. These forms show that the peculiarities of the several dialects were not strictly confined to the provinces after which they were named.

Especially noteworthy are the forms in *si* (or *sim*) used in the sense of the dative, e.g., *Jivujjesim* (Sanskrit, *Jīvānyāya*), *Ruddajesi* (Sanskrit, *Rudrānyāya*) etc. in lines 10-18. According to grammarians⁴, the dative case has disappeared from the Prakrits, its place being taken by the genitive. The genitive singular of nouns in *a* usually ends in *ssa* (written as *sa* in very early records) and this is the form which is invariably found in other Prakrit inscriptions. The form in *si* (or, *sim*) which is found throughout in the present inscription has survived in old Marathī works like the *Lilācharitra* and the *Jñānēśvarī*. It is the parent of the Marathī dative affix *sa*.

The only **orthographical peculiarities** that call for notice are the reduplication of a consonant after *r* (as in *Dharmma-*, line 1) and *anusvāra* (as in *sā[m]uvachchharam*, line 28), the use of *j* for *y* as in *karejja*, line 26 and the use of the class-nasal in place of *anusvāra* in Sanskrit and Prakrit words, see e.g. *Vindhyaśaktī-*, line 5 and *a-chammangālika*, line 22.

Like other finished Vākātaka grants, the present inscription opens with the word *drishtam* 'seen', the auspicious word *siddham* being written in the margin of the first plate as in the Hirahadgalli plates of Śivaskandavarman. The inscription refers itself to the reign of the **Vākātaka** king, the *Dharmamahārāja Vindhyaśakti*. The **object** of it is to register the grant, by Vindhyaśakti, of the village **Ākāsapadda**⁵ which was situated near **Tākālakkhōpaka** in the northern *mārga* (Subdivision) of **Nāndikaḍa**. The donees were certain Brāhmanas of the Ātharvana *charaṇa* or the Atharvavēda. It may be noted that a Brāhmana of this Vēda is mentioned as the donee in the Tirodī plates of Pravārasēna II also. The names of the donees ended in *ārya* as in some other grants of the Vākātakas. The land or the revenue of the village was divided into four parts, of which three were assigned to eight Brāhmanas and the remaining one to one Brāhmana. The shares of the former,

¹ Vararuchi, V, 45. In Śaurasēnī the form would be *attano*.

² *Ibid.*, XII, 3.

³ Hēmachandra lays down *dānim* in VIII, 4, 277, but says that the final *anusvāra* is optionally dropped (VIII, 1, 29).

⁴ Vararuchi, VI, 64.

⁵ The name of the village is given in the plural as *Valūrakesu* in inscription No. 13 at Karle. *Ep Ind*, Vol. VII, p. 57.

again, were not equal, four of them received only half a share¹ and the remaining four, two shares each

The plates are **dated** in the **thirty-seventh year** (expressed in **numerical symbols** evidently of the reign of the donor Vindhyaśakti, on the **4th day** of the **first fortnight** of **Hēmanta**. The date is noteworthy, for it is one of the two season dates occurring in the grants of the Vākātakas. The grant was written by the *Sēnāpati* **Vanhu** (Vishnu) and was issued from **Vatsagulma**.

The inscription gives the following genealogy of the donor Vindhyaśakti — **Pravarasēna**, his son **Sarvasēna** and the latter son **Vindhyaśakti**. In connection with Vindhyaśakti the inscription purports to state that he had performed the Agnishtōma, Āptōryama, Vājapēva, Jyōtishtōma, Brihaspatisava Sādyaskra and four Aśvamēdhas, and that he was a *Hāritīputra* (a son, i.e., a descendant of Hāritī) and *Dharmamahārāja*. These two latter epithets are found applied to a Vākātaka king in this grant only. They seem to have been adopted from the grants of the Kadambas. As only one Vindhyaśakti was known before the discovery of the present plates *viz*, he who is mentioned in the Purānas and in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā, it was at first naturally supposed that the donor of the plates was identical with the celebrated founder of the Vākātaka dynasty. The present inscription was therefore supposed to carry the genealogy of the Vākātakas two generations before Vindhyaśakti. It has since been pointed out that the genealogical portion of the present grant is faulty in construction; for it seems to repeat the epithet *Dharmamahārāja* three times in connection with Vindhyaśakti. Besides, it credits Vindhyaśakti with the performance of almost the same number of identical sacrifices as those mentioned in connection with Pravarasēna I in all other Vākātaka grants². It seems therefore that the expressions *śrī-Pravarasēna-pautrasya* in line 3 and *śrī-Sarvasēna-putrasya* in line 4 are to be taken as *śrī-Pravarasēnasya pautrasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya putrasya*, so that the preceding adjectival expressions in the genitive case including the epithet *Dharmamahārājasya* would agree with *śrī-Pravarasēnasya* and *śrī-Sarvasēnasya* respectively. According to this construction, all the three kings, Pravarasēna, Sarvasēna and Vindhyaśakti, would receive the epithet *Dharmamahārāja*, and there would thus be no tautology. Besides, the expression *Agnishtōm-Āptōryāma chatur-Aśvamēdayājñam* and *Samājā[h]* would now qualify *śrī-Pravarasēnasya*, showing that it was Pravarasēna, and not Vindhyaśakti, who performed these sacrifices and assumed the title *Samāt*. This is quite in keeping with the statement in other Vākātaka grants. Pravarasēna who heads the genealogical list in the present plates would thus be Pravarasēna I who, according to the *Purānas*, was the son of Vindhyaśakti. The Vākātaka king who granted the present plates should therefore be called Vindhyaśakti II. He thus becomes the great-grandson of Vindhyaśakti I. The genealogy in the present plates would therefore be as follows—

Pravarasēna I

|
(son)

Sarvasēna

|
(son)

Vindhyaśakti II

This would therefore be a different branch of the Vākātaka family, for according to the genealogy in several inscriptions of Pravarasēna II and Prithivishēna II, Pravarasēna I

¹ The text has *āddhaka* in line 10 which probably means 'a half'. Cf. *amsik-āddha* in line 21 of the Kondamudi plates of Jayavarman. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 317.

² See D. C. Sircar's note on the present plates in *Ind. Hist. Quant*, Vol. XVI, pp. 182 f.

was succeeded by his grandson Rudrasēna I, the son of Gautamīputra, who probably did not come to the throne

These princes were also mentioned in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā, but owing to the mutilated condition of it their names were differently read by Dr Bhau Daji, Pandit Bhagvanlal and Dr Buhler, who edited it from time to time. The correct readings have since been restored¹

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Vatsagulma**, which was evidently the capital of this branch, is undoubtedly modern Bāsim where the plates were discovered. The place-name is variously derived. The *Jayamangalā*, a commentary on the *Kāmasūtra*, states that Vatsa and Gulma were two uterine brothers and princes of Dakṣiṇāpatha². The country settled by them came to be known as Vātsagulmaka. The local *Māhātmya* gives an altogether different derivation. It states that Vatsa was a sage who by his very severe austerities made an assemblage (*gulma*) of gods come down and settle in the vicinity of his hermitage. Both these derivations are evidently conjectural. The Vātsagulmaka country is mentioned in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana which describes some peculiar customs current there. Vatsagulma is also mentioned by Rājasekhara in his works *Karpūramāñjarī* and *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. **Nāndikada**, which was apparently the headquarters of a district³, is probably identical with Nānded the chief town of a district of the same name in the Mahārāshṭra State. **Tākālakkhōppaka** and the donated village **Ākāsapadda** which was situated near it cannot be definitely identified. From the description in line 6 we learn that they lay in the northern subdivision of Nāndikada. Now, on the road which connects Nānded with Bāsim, which lies about 75 miles to the north of it, there are two villages Tākāligohan and Tākālī, about 40 and 45 miles respectively from Nānded. One of these may represent ancient **Tākālakkhōppaka**. About 7 miles to the west of Tākāligohan there is still a small village named Āsund which is possibly identical with **Ākāsapadda**. The identification of Nāndikada with Nānded which is almost certain shows that Viṇḍhyasaktī II was ruling over southern Berar and the northern part of the former Hyderabad State

TEXT⁴

First Plate

- 1 सिद्धम्⁵ [1*] दृष्टम् [1*] वत्सगुल्माद्धर्ममहाराजस्याग्निष्टोमाप्तोर्यमिवाजपेयज्योति-
- 2 ष्टोमबृहस्पतिसवसाद्यस्क (स्क) चतुरश्वमेधयाजिनस्सम्राज (जो) व-
- 3 ण्विबृद्ध⁶सगोत्रस्य हरितीपुत्रस्य श्रीप्रवरसेनपौत्रस्य⁷
- 4 धर्ममहाराजस्य श्रीसर्वसेनपुत्रस्य⁸ धर्ममहाराजस्य
- 5 ⁹वाकाटकाना ।¹⁰ श्रि (श्री) विन्ध्यशक्तेर्वचनात् [1*] नान्दीकडस ¹¹उत्तरमग्ने

¹ See the revised edition of it in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series, No 14. See also inscription No 25, below

² *Kāmasūtra* (Nirnayasagar ed.), p 295. The *Bṛhatkathā* also probably mentioned Vatsa and Gulma as the sons of a Brahmana and the maternal uncles of Guṇādhyā. It does not, however, state that they founded a city named Vatsagulma. See *Bṛhatkathāmāñjarī*, I, 3, 4, and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, I, 6, 9

³ Similar names in *kata* (e.g. Bhojakata, Bennakata) occur in other grants of the Vākāṭakas as names of districts

⁴ From the facsimiles facing pages 152 and 153 in *Ep Ind*, Vol XXVI

⁵ This word is written in the margin on a level with line 3

⁶ Other Vākāṭaka plates name this *gōtra* as *Viṣṇuvṛddha*. See No 3, line 2

⁷ Read श्रीप्रवरसेनस्य पौत्रस्य

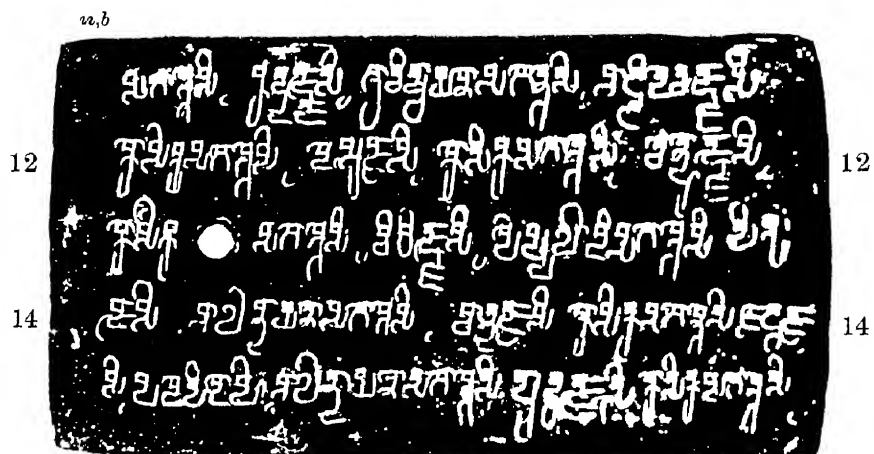
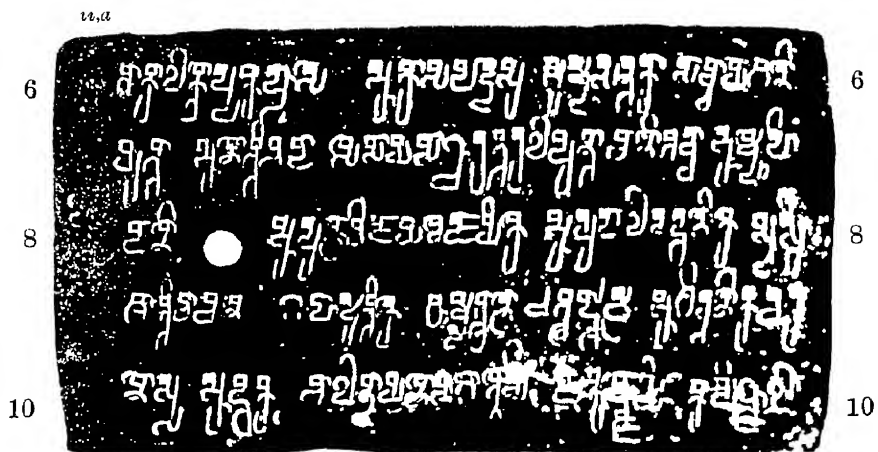
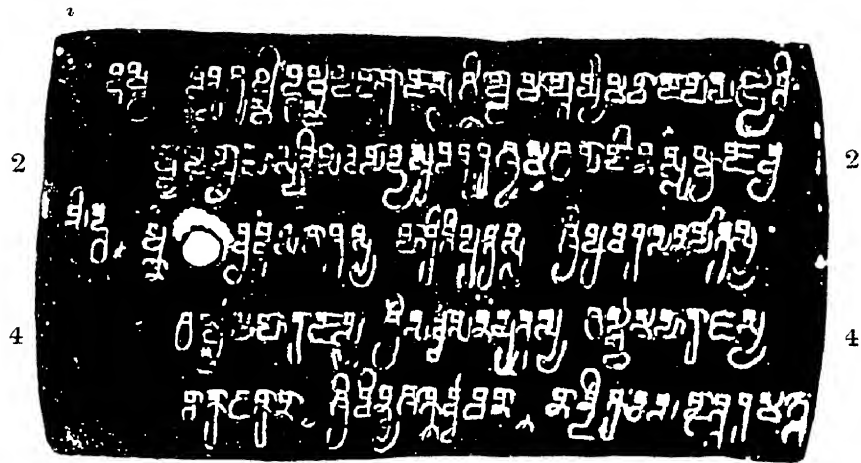
⁸ Read श्रीसर्वसेनस्य पुत्रस्य

⁹ Opposite this line in the margin there is a sign for 1 denoting the number of the plate.

¹⁰ This mark of punctuation is superfluous

¹¹ The engraver first incised *dā* which he afterwards altered to *u*

BĀSIM PLATES OF VINDHYĀŚAKTI II



16

16

18

18

20

20

22

22

24

24

26

26

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30

30

Second Plate: First Side

- 6 ताकालक्खोप्पकाग्भासे आकासपद्देसु अम्हसन्तका साव्वायोगणि-
 7 युत्ता आणत्ति¹ भडा सेसा य साञ्चरन्तर(कु)लपुत्ता² भाणितव्वा [1*] आम्हेहि
 8 ³दाणि⁴ आपुणो⁵ विजयवेजयिके आयुबलवद्धणिके⁶ स्वस्ति-
 9 शान्तिवाचने⁷ इहाभुत्तिके धम्मत्थाणे एत्थज्जामे आधिब्वणिक⁸चर-
 10 णस्स आद्धक।⁹ भालन्दायणसगोत्तसि जिवुज्जेसि कपिञ्जल-

Second Plate Second Side

- 11 सगोत्तेसि¹⁰ । रुद्धजेसि । श्राविण्ठायण¹¹सगोत्तेसि । भाट्टिदेवज्जेसि
 12 कोसि[क]सगोत्तेसि । देअजेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि । वेण्हुज्जेसि ।
 13 कोसी(सि)कसगोत्तेसि । विधिज्जेसि । पैप्पलादिसगोत्तेसि । पितु-
 14 जेसि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि चान्दजेसि कोसिकसगोत्ते(त्ते)सि जेट्टुजे-
 15 सि । पदे(टे)हि दोहि भालन्दायणसगोत्तेसि बुद्धजेसि कोसिकसगोत्तेसि ।

Third Plate. First Side

- 16 भाट्टिलज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि । सिवज्जेसि । कोसिकसगोत्तेसि
 17 हरिण्णजेसित्ति एताण बाम्हणाण¹² भागा तिण्णा¹³ ३ कोसिकसगोत्तसि
 18 ¹⁴रेवतिजेसि । भागो १ चउत्थोत्ति आचन्दादिच्चकालिको अपुव्वद-
 19 तीय दत्तो । पुव्वरायाणुमते य से¹⁵ चातुवेज्जग्गाममज्जाता¹⁶ परिहारे वित-
 20 राम।¹⁷ त जथा अरट्टसव्विणयिक । अलवणकेण¹⁸क्खनक । अहिरण्णधाण-

¹ *Ānatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is the same as *Dūtaka* who was to see to the execution of the royal order.

² Cf *आज्ञासञ्चारिकुलपुत्राधिकृता* in the Sanskrit grants, see above, No. 3, line 21.

³ In the margin to the left there is a sign for 2, denoting the number of this plate

⁴ *Hēmachandra* (VIII, 1, 29, IV, 277) gives both *dāni* and *dānim* in the *Śaurasēnī*. *Dāni* occurs in the *Hirahadgalli* plates also *Ep Ind*, Vol I, p 5

⁵ Prakrit grammarians give *appano* as the correct form in the *Māhārāshtrī*, see *Vararuchi*, V, 46 (*Bhāmaha's* com), *Hēmachandra*, VIII, 3, 56

⁶ *Hultzsch* takes similar expressions which occur in lines 5-6 of the *Mayīdavōlu* plates as *Māgadhi* nominatives. It is better to take them as locative singular forms, denoting purpose. In the *Hirahadgalli* and British Museum plates the gerund *kātūna* or *kātūnam* follows *-vaddhamyam* or *vaddhaniye*.

⁷ Such an expression does not occur in the Sanskrit charters of the *Vākātakas*.

⁸ The softening of *th* into *dh* is characteristic of the *Śaurasēnī*. See also *ṛakkhadha*, *ṛakkhāpedha*, *ṛanharēdha*, and *ṛanharāpedha* in lines 25-26, below

⁹ The signs of punctuations in lines 10-18 are superfluous

¹⁰ The *anusvāra* on *si* is very faint, but it is there

¹¹ The *gotra* *Śrāvishtha* or *Śrāvishthāyana* is not mentioned in the *Gotrapravarānibandhakadamba*, but the *Sāngolī* grant of the Kadamba king *Harivarman* (*Ep Ind*, Vol XIV, p. 167) names some *Brāhmanas* of the *Śrāvishtha gotra* and it is noteworthy that like the donees of the present grant, they all belonged to the *Atharvaveda*

¹² The *Hirahadgalli* plates have, in line 27, *ettesi bamhanānam*

¹³ The correct form is *tinni* in all genders. See *Vararuchi*, IV, 56

¹⁴ In the margin on the left, on a level with this line, there is a sign for 3, denoting the number of this plate

¹⁵ This is genitive singular of *tad*, *ibid*, VI, 11

¹⁶ This form of the word (with the hardening of *d* into *t*) occurs in line 45 of the *Hirahadgalli* plates. According to Prakrit grammarians this is a characteristic of the *Paśāchī* dialect

¹⁷ The marks of punctuation in lines 20-27 are superfluous.

¹⁸ This seems to correspond to *kinva* in the Sanskrit charters of the *Vākātakas*. See e.g. No. 2 line 17.

Third Plate · Second Side

- 21 प्पणयप्पदेय । अपुप्फक्खिरग्गहण¹ । अपरम्परगोबलिवद्द [1]
 22 अचारसिद्धिक । अच²म्मङ्गालिक । अभडप्पावेस अखट्टाचोल्लकवेणे-
 23 सिक । अकरद । अवह । सणिधि । सोपणिधि । सकुतुप्पन्त³ ।
 24 समञ्चमहाकरण । साव्वजातिपरिहारपरिहितञ्च [1*] जतो उपरिलि-
 25 खित । शासणवादम्पमाण⁴ करेत्ता रक्खध रक्खापेध य परिहरध

Fourth Plate

- 26 परिहरापेध य [1*] जो वु आबाध करेज्ज कतव्व अनुमण्णति⁵
 27 तिस्स⁶ एतेहि । उपरिलिखितेहि । ब्राह्मणेहि । परिकुपिते⁷ स[द]ण्ड-
 28 ⁸निग्रह(ह) करेज्जामेति [1*] साव्वच्छर ३० ७ हेमन्ता(न्त)पक्ख पढम
 29 [दि]व[स] ४ समुपासत्थि⁹ लिखितमिम शास[न] सेणापतिणा
 30 वण्हण¹⁰ इति ॥ सिद्धिरस्तु ॥ — ॥¹¹

TRANSLATION

Success¹ Seen From **Vatsagulma-**

By the order of the *Dharmamahāyā*, the illustrious **Vindhyaśakti (II)** of the **Vākātakas**, (*who is*) the son of the *Dharmamahāyā*, the illustrious **Sarvasēna** (*and*) grandson of the *Dharmamahāyā*, the illustrious **Pravarasēna (I)**, the *Samrāt*, and the son (*i.e. descendant*) of **Hārīti**¹², (*who was*) of the *Vṛishnivriddha gōtra* and who performed *Agnishtōma*, *Aptōryāma*, *Vājapēya*, *Jyōtishtōma*¹³, *Bṛihaspatisava*, *Sādyaskra* and four *Aśvamēdhas*:—

The *Ājñapti*¹⁴ and soldiers who are employed by us in all departments¹⁵ as well as other (*touring officials*) of noble birth in (*the village*) **Ākāsapadda**, which is situated near **Tākālakk-hōppaka** in the northern division (*mārga*) of **Nāndikada**, should be caused to be addressed (*as follows*) —

¹ The curve on *na* seems to have been cancelled

² The engraver at first incised *da* which he later changed to *cha*

³ This corresponds to *sa-klipt-ōpaklipta* in the Sanskrit charters of the *Vākātakas* See e.g. No 3, line 28

⁴ I am indebted to Dr B Ch Chhabra for the reading of this expression

⁵ The letter after *ma* has been cancelled

⁶ Read *tassa*

⁷ Read *parikupitehi veditassa* Cf No 3, line 31

⁸ In the margin on the left, almost on a level with this line, there is a symbol for 4, denoting the number of the plate.

⁹ The last three *aksharas* of this word are incised over others which have been cancelled

¹⁰ Read *Vanhumā*

¹¹ There is an ornamental symbol between these two sets of *dandas*

¹² The epithet *Hārīti-putra* occurs in the inscriptions of the Kadambas and the Early Chālukyas. See e.g. the Tālagunda inscription of Kākusthavarman (*Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 31) and the Mahākūṭa inscription of Mangaleśa (*Ind Ant*, Vol XIX, p 16) In later records *Hārīti* (or *Hārīti-pañchasikha*) is represented as a sage In that case *Hārīti-putra* may mean a disciple of *Hārīti* Cf. *Sākya-putra* meaning a Buddhist.

¹³ This record mentions *Jyōtishtōma* in place of *Ukthya*, *Shōdaśin* and *Atrātra*, which are mentioned in other *Vākātaka* records among the sacrifices performed by *Pravarasēna I*

¹⁴ *Ānatti* (Sanskrit, *Ājñapti*) is mentioned at the close of copper-plate charters and corresponds to the *Dūtaka* mentioned similarly in some charters He was entrusted with the execution of royal orders.

¹⁵ The usual expression in *Vākātaka* grants is *Sarvādhyakṣa-nyōga-nyuktāh* meaning 'who are employed by the order of the General Superintendent'

(Lines 7-10) For the increase of (*Our*) life and power, for invoking blessings and peace (*for Us*), and for Our well-being in this world and the next, We have now granted, in our victorious place of religious worship¹, this village to (*the following members of*) the Ātharvanika *charana*² in this village as a new gift which is to be enjoyed as long as the moon and the sun will endure, (*in the following proportion*), *viz*, three parts—(*in figures*) 3—of it to these (*following*) Brāhmanas—half a share being given to Jīvuja (Jīvārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Ruddaja (Rudrārya) of the Kapiñjala *gōtra*, to Bhattidevaja (Bhartridēvārya) of the Shrāvishtāyana *gōtra*, to Deaja (Dēvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Venhuja (Vishnvārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Vidhija (Vidhyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Pituja (Pitrārya) of the Paippalādī *gōtra*, to Chāndaja (Chandrārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra* (*and*) to Jetthaja (Jyēshthārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (*and*) two shares being given to Buddhaja (Buddhārya) of the Bhālandāyana *gōtra*, to Bhāddilaja (Bhādrilārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, to Sivaja (Śivārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*, (*and*) to Harinnaja (Hiranyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*—and the fourth part, (*in figure*) 1, to Revatija (Rēvatyārya) of the Kauśika *gōtra*

(Lines 19-21) And We grant the following exemptions from restrictions for it, such as are incidental to a village granted to the Brāhmanas proficient in the four Vēdas, as approved by former kings, *viz*, it is to be exempt from (*the entrance of*) the District Police³, to be exempt from the digging of salt and fermentation of liquor, it is to be exempt from (*the obligation to make*) presents of grain and gold⁴, it does not entitle (*the State*) to (*the royalties on*) flowers and milk⁵, and to the customary cows and bullocks⁶, it is not to provide pasture, hides and charcoal, it is not to be entered by soldiers, it is not to provide cots, water-pots⁷ and servants (*to touring royal officers*), it is exempt from taxes, it is not to provide draught cattle, it carries with it the right to treasures and deposits, to major and minor taxes, and to platforms and large fields⁸, and it is to be exempted with immunities of all kinds

(Lines 24-30) Wherefore, you should protect it, cause it to be protected, exempt it and cause it to be exempted, regarding this charter as authoritative

¹ *Vijaya-vejanke* seems to be misplaced. In Vākātaka charters it qualifies *Dharmasthānē* when the grant was made at the capital

² *e* of the *Atharvaveda*

³ This is how Senart translates the expression *a-raitha-samvayika*. D. C. Sircar proposes to translate it by 'not to be controlled as other parts of the kingdom'. See *SI*, Vol I, p 410, n 1

⁴ *Pranaya* means the customary present or *nazarānā* paid to the ling. Cf *pranaya-kryā* in the Junāgadh inscription of Rudradāman. *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 175

⁵ These were taxes in kind paid to the state. See *MSM*, Ch VII, v

⁶ The expression *a-parampara-gō-balivardda* corresponds to *a-pārampara-balivadda-gahanam* of the Hirahadagalli plates and *a-paramparā-balivadam* of the Mayidavolu plates. These latter expressions have been taken to denote 'exemption from the obligation of furnishing by turns draught cattle for the progress of royal officers'. In former times it was considered to be the duty of villagers to supply means of transport for the touring of royal officers. Sometimes a small tax, called *prayāna-danda*, was levied for the purpose. See *rāja-sēvakānām vasati-danda-prayāna-dandau na stah* in the Paithan plates of Rāmachandra. *Ind Ant*, Vol XIV, p 318. But the use of the word *go* in addition to *balivarda* in Vākātaka grants rather indicates that the village people were exempted from the obligation of giving to the State the first calf—male or female—of every cow in the village. Besides, exemption from supplying the means of conveyance has already been mentioned as *avaha* in line 23, above

⁷ *Chollaka* is plainly identical with *cholaka* in the Mayidavolu plates and *yollaka* in the Hirahadagalli plates. Hultzsch derives *chollaka* from *chullaki*, a water-pot. *Venesika* corresponds to *vināsi* in the Mayidavolu and *vinasi* in the Hirahadagalli plates. It is probably derived from *vamāśika* which the dictionaries give in the sense of 'a slave, a dependent or a subject'. The obligation to provide servants for touring officers is perhaps meant here

⁸ Dictionaries give *karana* in the sense of 'a field'

Whoever will cause trouble or approve of it when caused, upon him, when complained against by the aforementioned Brāhmaṇas we will inflict punishment together with a fine.

(Line 28-30). In the **year 30** (*and*) **7**, in the **first fortnight** of **winter**, on the **day 4**. This order, given by Us personally, has been written by the *Sēnāpati* **Vishnu**. May there be success !

INDIA OFFICE PLATE OF DĒVASĒNA

THIS plate was in the possession of the **India Office**, London, but it is not known how or when it went there. Its original find-spot is not known. It was edited with a facsimile by Dr H. N. Randle in the *New Indian Antiquary*, Vol II, pp 177 f. Later, I published a note on it in the same volume of the *Journal*, pp 721 f. It is edited here from Dr Randle's facsimile.

'It is the **first plate** of a set, of which the other plates are not forthcoming. It now measures $9\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches and weighs 5 ounces, but since a part has been broken away at the ring-hole (which is fortunately in an unusual position, clear of the inscription, on the proper right edge), the plate in its original condition must have been rather longer and heavier. The sides are straight, but the intact end has the corners rounded off. There is no raised edge or rim. The inscription consists of three lines, engraved fairly deeply (so that some characters show slightly on the reverse), and on one side only, as is usual in the case of the first (and last) plates of Vākātaka grants. The first and last *aksharas* in the third line project beyond the limit of the first two lines¹. 'The inscription ends abruptly.'

The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets, resembling those of the grants of the Vākātaka Pravarasēna II, the only peculiarity worth noticing being the general tendency to raise the upturned curves of such letters as *k*, *ṛ*, and the subscript *y* higher than is usual in Pravarasēna II's grants. The confusion of *t* and *n* occurs in this grant also. The **language** is Sanskrit and the extant portion is wholly in prose. The language is in places influenced by Prakrit as in *sacharantara(ka)*, line 2 and *Yappajassa*, line 3. The only **orthographical peculiarity** it presents is the doubling of a consonant after *r* as in *-māgga*, line 1 and *dharma-*, line 3.

The plate purports to have been issued by the **Vākātaka Mahārāja Dēvasēna** from **Vātsyagulma**. It records the order of the king addressed to the touring royal officers (*kula-putras*) such as the *bhatas*, *Bhōjakas* and *Dāṇḍanāyakas* employed in the northern subdivision of **Nāṅgarakaṭaka** that the village (probably **Yappajja** mentioned at the end of line 3) had been granted by him to the Brāhmanas **Dharmasvāmin**² and **Bhavasvāmin** of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtha*. The record ends here abruptly, the subsequent portion, mentioning the exemptions granted to the donees, the appeal to future rulers, the regnal date and the names of the writer and the *Dūtaka*, being lost.

Unlike most other grants of the Vākātakas, the present inscription does not open with *dr̥ṣṭam* 'seen'. It is not, again, in the usual style of Vākātaka grants which give the genealogy of the reigning king in the beginning. Besides, the record is full of grammatical errors. Dr Randle therefore conjectured that the engraver's incompetence proved too much for the Vākātaka official and so the plate was rejected before completion of the charter³. None of these reasons, however, are quite convincing. Though the word *dr̥ṣṭam* usually occurs in the beginning of Vākātaka grants, it does not do so invariably⁴. The Riddhapur

¹ *NIA*, Vol II, p 177

² Randle takes Dharmasvāmin as an epithet of Bhavasvāmin. No such epithet, however, occurs elsewhere.

³ *NIA*, Vol II, p 180, n 4

⁴ It may be noted that there is no empty space left for it in the beginning of line 1 as in Nos 17 and 18.

plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, for instance, do not contain it. For all we know, the later Vākātaka princes of the Vatsagulma branch may have purposely shortened the introductory portion of their grants; for we have no copper-plate grants of this branch after Vindhyaśakti II's time. As for grammatical and other mistakes, they are noticed in still greater numbers in several genuine grants of the Vākātakas. It would not therefore be wise to reject this grant as unauthorised or spurious. Its importance lies in the fact that it is the only record of Dēvasēna's reign. In fact it showed for the first time that **Vatsagulma** was a capital of the Vākātakas, which was later confirmed by the discovery of the Bāsim plates of Vindhyaśakti II.

As for the **localities** mentioned in the present grant, **Vātsyagulma** is evidently identical with Vatsagulma which has already been shown to be modern Bāsim in the Akōlā District of Vidarbha. **Nāṅgarakataka** probably denoted a territorial division corresponding to the modern district, though the names of such divisions usually ended in *kaṭa*. Nāṅgara, its chief town, cannot be satisfactorily identified. If *Nāṅgara* is the writer's mistake for *Māṅgara*, the place may be identical with Mangrul, (ancient Māṅgarapura), the headquarters of a *tahsil* of the same name in the Akōlā District¹. It lies about 25 miles north by east of Bāsim, on the high road which connects Bāsim with Kāranjā. It was therefore situated in the northern subdivision (*uttara-mārga*) as stated in the present inscription. It seems to have been an ancient place since a large hoard of more than 1500 coins of the Sātavāhanas was found in its neighbourhood². **Yappajja**, if this is the correct name of the donated village, cannot be identified.

TEXT³

- 1 स्वस्ति [१^{*}] वात्स्यगुल्मात् [१^{*}] वाकाटकानाम्महाराजश्रीदेवसेनस्य वचना[त्] उत्तरमाग्न-
(ग्ने)
- 2 नाङ्गरकटके अस्मत्सन्तर(क)भटभोजकदण्डनायकाद्या सचरन्तक⁴ कुलप्रका(पुत्रा)
- 3 वक्तव्य(व्या) यथैष (षो)स्माभिर्ग्रा(र्ग्रा)म श(शा)ण्डिल्यसगोत्रस्य धर्मस्व(स्वा)मिन(नो)
भवस्व(स्वा)मित(नो)⁵ यप्पज्जस्म⁶

TRANSLATION

Hail! From **Vātsyagulma**—By the order of the illustrious **Dēvasēna**, the *Mahārāja* of the **Vākātakas**—

In **Nāṅgarakataka**, in the Northern subdivision (*mārga*)⁷, Our touring Officers of noble birth such as soldiers, *Bhōjakas* and *Dandanāyakas* should be addressed (as follows) —

(Line 2) This village **Yappajja** (has been granted by Us) to **Dharmasvāmin** of the Śāṇḍilya *gōtra* and to **Bhavasvāmin**

(The subsequent plates of the grant are not forthcoming)

¹ This was first pointed out in my note in *N I A*, Vol. II pp. 721 f.

² *J N S.I.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 f.

³ From the facsimile facing p. 180 in *N I A*, Vol. II.

⁴ Read सचरन्त.

⁵ Perhaps शाण्डिल्यसगोत्राय धर्मस्वामिने भवस्वामिने च was intended.

⁶ This appears to be a Prakrit form. Perhaps यप्पज्ज was the name of the donated village.

⁷ In the Bāsim plates (No. 24 below), line 5, the *Uttaramārga* (northern division) is explicitly stated to be a subdivision of the district Nāṇḍikata.



INSCRIPTIONS OF THE MINISTERS AND FEUDATORIES OF THE VATSAGULMA BRANCH

NO 25 PLATE XXV

AJANTĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

THIS inscription was first brought to notice by Dr Bhau Daji, who published an eye-copy of it together with a transcript of its text and a translation in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1862), Vol VII, pp 56 f. Dr Bhau Daji noticed in it the names of the kings Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasēna and Dēvasēna, and of their ministers Hastibhōja and Varāhadēva. He identified the first two of these kings with the homonymous princes of the Vākātaka dynasty who had already become known from the Siwanī plates of Pravarasēna II. The inscription was next edited with an introductory note and a translation, but without a facsimile, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of India) (1881), pp 69 f. Pandit Bhagvanlal noticed in it the names of the following Vākātaka kings—Vindhyaśakti, Pravarasēna, [Rudra]sēna; (a name lost); Dēvasēna, and Harishēna. The transcript was prepared by the Pandit with his wonted skill and shows a great improvement over that of Dr Bhau Daji. The record was next edited, with a translation and a lithograph, by Dr Buhler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV (1883), pp 124 f and Plate LXVII. Dr Buhler's lithograph was made from a facsimile carefully prepared by Pandit Bhagvanlal. It seems, however, to have been somewhat worked up by hand. Dr Buhler's transcript does not differ much from Pandit Bhagvanlal's, but he noticed two additional names viz, Prithivishēna and Pravarasēna (II) after [Ru]drasēna in the genealogical portion of the record. I discussed the contents of the inscription in a paper which I contributed to the fourth session of the Indian History Congress held at Lahore in 1940¹ and later edited it, from an excellent estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India, in the Hyderabad Archaeological Series (1941). The record is edited here from the facsimile published with that article.

The inscription is incised on the left-side wall at the extreme end outside the verandah of **Cave XVI** at **Ajantā** in the Hyderabad State. It has suffered a great deal by exposure to weather, especially in the middle of the first eight lines and on the left-hand side the whole way down. Besides, about a dozen *aksharas* have been completely lost in the last two lines at the lower left corner and one or two more in the centre of lines 25 and 26 owing to the flaking off of the surface of the stone.

The inscription covers a space 4' broad and 3' 6" high and consists of 27 lines, beautifully written and carefully engraved. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. The boxes at the head of letters are scooped out hollow as in the stone inscription at Dēotēk. The only points that call for notice are as follows:—In initial *ū* the length is indicated by an additional upturned curve added at the base of the vertical; see *ūddhva-*, line 17, the medial *ι* is shown by a curling curve to the left and the medial *ō* by a loop as in *Udīrma* and *lōka-* both in line 1, medial *au* is bipartite as in *lsham-audāryya-*, line 16, *y* is still tripartite, *l* has in most cases a long vertical, but in some places

¹ *PIHC*, 1940, pp 79 f

(e.g. *Lāta*-, line 14) it has assumed a diminutive form. The **language** is Sanskrit and the inscription is in verse throughout. The verses are thirty-two in number. As regards **orthography**, we may note the doubling of the consonant after *r* as in *nirvāṇa*-, line 1 and the use of the guttural nasal in stead of *anusvāra* in *vaṇṣa*-, line 3. The *upadhāniya* occurs in lines 2 and 10, and the *jhvāmūliya* in line 10.

The inscription is one of the minister **Varāhadēva** of the **Vākātaka** king **Harishēna**. The **object** of it is to record the dedication of a cave-dwelling (*vēśma*) fully decorated with pillars, picture-galleries, sculptures etc to the Buddhist Sangha. It is undated, but since Harishēna ruled from about 475 A.C. to 500 A.C., it may be referred to the end of the fifth century A.C. It is noteworthy that Fergusson and Burgess also assigned the Ajantā cave XVI, where the present record is incised, to about 500 A.C. on the evidence of the style of its architecture¹.

The inscription falls into two parts. The first part comprising the first twenty verses gives the **genealogy** of the reigning king **Harishēna** and incidentally names and eulogises **Hastibhōja** and his son (**Varāhadēva**) who as ministers served the Vākātaka kings **Dēvasēna** and **Harishēna**. The second part describes the cave-dwelling containing a Buddhist temple (*chaitya-mandiram*) and an excellent hall (*mandapa-ratnam*) excavated by **Varāhadēva** which he dedicated to the Buddhist Sangha for the religious merit of his father and mother.

The main interest of the inscription lies in the first part which gives the Vākātaka genealogy right from Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the family. The present inscription describes **Vindhyaśakti** as a *divya* (Brāhmana) who became renowned on earth, having increased his power in great battles. His son **Pravarasēna I** is next glorified in verse 6 as one whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of the crest-jewels of hostile kings.

Pravarasēna I's **son** and successor was named and described in verse 7, but owing to the unfortunate mutilation of the record in this part, the name is partially lost. Only the latter part of it viz., *-sēna* is clear. Bhagvanlal, who first noticed the name, thought that *sēna* was preceded by a faintly traceable form like *dra*, so that the name might have been Bhadrāsēna, Chandrasēna, Indrasēna, Rudrasēna, etc. In his transcript of the record he adopted the reading *Rudrasēna* evidently because this name occurs soon after that of Pravarasēna I in the Siwani and Chammak plates of Pravarasēna II, which had been discovered before. This reading was also adopted by Buhler, who next edited the present inscription. It must, however, be noticed that according to the aforementioned land-grants of Pravarasēna II, Rudrasēna I was not the *son* of Pravarasēna I, but was his *grandson*, while the present inscription clearly states that the successor of Pravarasēna (I) was his *son*. We must therefore suppose either that the poet committed a mistake in describing this relationship, or the reading of the royal name adopted by Bhagvanlal and Buhler is incorrect. The former alternative does not appear likely, for the inscription was composed under the direction of the Vākātaka king Harishēna's minister and is, on the whole, very correctly written. It is, however, very much abraded in the portion where the name occurs, and therefore a mistake in reading is not unlikely. Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler also were not quite certain about this reading, but the former thought that he saw 'a faintly traceable form like *dra*'. If we refer to the lithograph used by both of them, we find that the upper member of the ligature read as *dra* is quite illegible, but there appears a loop below it, which seems to have been taken as the subscript *r* of *dra*. There are several instances of the subscript *r* in that lithograph, but in none of them is it denoted by a loop; it is always shown

¹The Cave-Temples of India, p. 306

by a hook open to the left. The new estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist does not show even this loop. The preceding *akshara ru* is of course completely gone as admitted by both Bhagvanlal and Buhler. The reading *Rudrasēna* in verse 7 is therefore extremely doubtful.

The Bāsim plates name Sarvasēna as the son and successor of the Vākātaka Pravara-sēna I who performed four Aśvamēdhas and other sacrifices. It may therefore be suggested that the name lost here is **Sarvasena**. The reading *Sarvasēnah* would suit the metre as well as *Rudrasēnah*. The latter part of the verse would therefore be *Sarvasēnah Pravarasēnasya jita-sarvasēnas-sutō-bhavat*. The resulting *yamaka* would make this reading quite plausible. The poet who composed this inscription was fond of using *yamakas* based on proper names as will be seen from the following.—

Line 2—abhivṛddha-śaktiḥ . . . dāna-śaktiḥ Vindhyaśaktiḥ

7—Pravarasēnas=tasya putro=bhūt=pravar-orjūt-ōdāra-śāsana-pravarah

10-11—Hastibhōjah . . . dig-gandhahasti-pratimō babhūva

14—Harishēno harī-vikkrama-pratāpah

The description *jita-sarvva-sēnah* of this prince was evidently suggested by his name Sarvasēna¹. We may therefore take it as almost certain that **Pravarasēna I was succeeded by his son Sarvasēna**.

Bhagvanlal did not notice any royal name in the next verse, but Buhler thought that he could read in the middle of line 7 the *aksharas pra(or pri)thvī* which showed a name like *Prithvishēna*². As he had adopted Bhagvanlal's reading *Rudrasēnah* in the preceding verse, he identified this Prithvishēna with Prithivishēna I, whom several land-grants mention as the son and successor of Rudrasēna I. We have seen, however, that verse 7 probably mentions the name of Sarvasēna, not of Rudrasēna. Besides, the reading *Prithvishēnah* noticed by Buhler is equally uncertain. The *akshara* which he read as *thi* has a tapering top and is open below. It cannot therefore be read as *thi*, for in all cases in this inscription, *th* has invariably a round top and is closed at the bottom, see e.g. *prathutō* in line 15 and *prathuta-gun-opabhōga* in line 21. The *akshara* appears to be *śrī*, of which the lower curve representing *r* is indistinct. The following *akshara* is clearly *vin*. It is followed by clear traces of *dhya*. Especially the elongated curve representing the subscript *y* is unmistakable. The two following *aksharas* are almost certainly *sēnah*³. The name thus appears to be *śrī-Vindhya-sēna*. The initial word *sat-putrah* in that verse, which has not been noticed before, shows that **Vindhya-sēna** was the son of the preceding king Sarvasēna⁴. The Bāsim plates mention Vindhyaśakti (II) as the son and successor of Sarvasēna. Vindhyaśakti and Vindhya-sēna are plainly identical. The Bāsim plates thus corroborate the reading *śrī-Vindhya-sēnah* in verse 8. The second half of the verse which is very badly mutilated indicates that he won a victory over the lord of **Kuntala**.

The next verse (9) was read by Bhagvanlal as *Pravarasēnasya putrō=bhūt* etc. He therefore thought that it described another son of Pravarasēna I. The correct reading *Pravarasēnas=tasya putro=bhūt* was first given by Buhler. It shows that **Pravarasēna (II)** was the next king. Buhler identified this Pravarasēna (whom he took to be the son and

¹ Otherwise, there is no special point in saying that he conquered all armies. One would rather expect an expression like *jita-sarvva-lōkah* or *jita-sarvva-īājah*.

² *ASWI*, No 4, p. 125, n. 1.

³ They were doubtfully read as *shēnah* by Buhler.

⁴ Buhler conjecturally supplied *tanayas=tasya*, but there is no space for so many *aksharas* before *pārthiv-ēndrasya* in line 7 and the reading does not suit the metre.

successor of Prithivīshēna I) with Pravarasēna II, whose Siwanī and Chammak plates had already been discovered and deciphered. This identification also cannot be upheld. As shown above, verse 8 does not mention Prithivīshēna, but Vindhvasēna. Secondly, even if we adopt Bühler's reading *Prithivīshēnah* in verse 8, we find that Pravarasēna II was not the son of Prithivīshēna I, but was his grandson, for his father was Rudrasēna II, the son-in-law of the famous Gupta king Chandragupta II -Vikramāditya. Pravarasēna, mentioned in verse 9 as the son and successor of Vindhvasēna (or Vindhyaśakti II) must therefore be distinguished from the homonymous Vākātaka prince who is known from more than a dozen grants discovered in Vīdarbha.

Verse 10 introduces **another prince** who evidently succeeded his father Pravarasēna II, mentioned in the preceding verse, but whose name cannot now be determined owing to the mutilation of the first half of that verse. He is said to have come to the throne when he was only eight years old and to have ruled his kingdom well. This prince is not known from any other record.

Verse 11 mentions **Dēvasēna** as the son and successor of the prince described in verse 10. He is also known from the India Office plate edited before¹.

Verses 12-16 incidentally describe **Hastibhōja**, a capable minister of **Dēvasēna**. These verses also have suffered much mutilation, but what remains of them is sufficient to give us a fair idea of his accomplishments. We are told that he was an abode of merits, had a broad and stout chest, was obliging, modest, loving and affable, and destroyed the allies of his enemies. He governed the people well and was accessible and dear to them like their father, mother and friend. Entrusting the cares of government to him, the king (Dēvasēna) gave himself up to the enjoyment of pleasures.

Verse 17 proceeds with the royal genealogy and describes **Harishēna**, the son and successor of Dēvasēna. The following verse which describes his conquests is badly mutilated. The first part of it mentions the countries of **Kuntala**, **Avanti**, **Kalinga**, **Kōsala**, **Trikūṭa**, **Lāṭa** and **Andhra**, evidently in connection with the conquests of Harishēna.

Verses 19-20 eulogize a son of **Hastibhōja** who became a minister of Harishēna. His name which must have occurred in the second half of verse 19 is now lost, but from verse 30 we can conjecture that it was **Varāhadēva**. He is said to have possessed the virtues of liberality, forgiveness and generosity, and to have ruled the country righteously. Realising that life, youth, wealth and happiness are transitory, he excavated a cave in honour of his father and mother for the use of the best of ascetics. Verse 24 described the cave-dwelling (*veśma*) as adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries², ledges and statues of the nymphs of Indra, and supported by lovely pillars. It contained a temple of Buddha and was provided with a large reservoir of water and a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas. This description exactly applies to cave XVI where the inscription has been incised. Verse 30 states that Varāhadēva made over the cave to the Community of Monks. The last two verses (31-32) express the hope that the cave containing the excellent *mandapa* dedicated to the three *ratnas* (i.e., Buddha, Dharma and Sangha) would last forever and that the world would be freed from all blemishes and enter the peaceful and noble state which is devoid of sorrow and pain.

¹No. 24, above.

²The reference to picture-galleries in v. 24 was missed by both Bhagvanlal and Bühler as the former took *suviṭhi* to mean 'splendid verandahs' and the latter, 'beautiful terraces'. The *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa* (cited by Ghanaśyāma in his commentary on the *Uttararāmacharita*, Act, I) gives *vīthakū* (which is the same as *vīthi*) in the sense of 'a row of pictures'.

TEXT⁶

- 12 Metre *Upēndhavanā* or *Upajāti*

- 6 प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूद्विकसन्नवेन्दीवरेक्षण¹ [॥६॥*] रविमयूख ---, ---
 --- [1*] [सर्व्व]सेन² प्रवरसेनस्य जितसर्व्वसेन [स्सु]तो[भ]वत्[॥७॥*]
 7 [सत्पुत्र³] पार्थिवेन्द्रस्य प्रशशास धर्म्मणे मेदिनी[म्] [1*] कुन्तलेन्द्र वि[जित्य] ---
 श्रीविध्यसेन⁴ --- [॥८॥*] प्रवरसेनस्तस्य पुत्रोभूत्प्रवरोजितोदारशासन प्रवर [1*]
 8 ---, --- [॥९॥*] तस्यात्मज ---,
 --- [1*] --- मवाप्य राज्यमष्टाब्दको य प्र[शशास]
 स[म्यक्^{6*}] [॥१०॥*]
 -9 [तस्या*][त्मजो]भून्नरदेव ---, --- भुवि देवसेन [1*] यस्योपभोगैर्ललितैर्व्वि-
 ---, देवराजस्य --- भू [॥११॥*] पुण्यानुभावात्क्षितिपस्य
 10 [सम्यक्^{7*}] --- [1*] --- गुणाधिवास --- कोशो⁷
 भुवि हस्तिभोज [॥१२॥*] प्र --- पृथुपीनवक्षास्सरोरुहाक्ष⁸ क्षपि-
 11 [ता*][रिपक्ष⁸] --- बाहुर्दिग्गन्धहस्तिप्रतिमो बभूव⁹ [॥१३॥*] हितो
 विनीत [प्रणयप्रधानो] मनोनुकूलोनुविधानवर्त्ती [1*] निरत्यय
 12 ---, --- कश्च¹⁰ [॥१४॥*] त[थै*]व लोकस्य हिताशय-
 त्वात्सुखेन सम्यक्परिपालनेन [1*] पितेव मातेव सखेव नित्य प्रियोभिगम्यश्च बभूव
 13 [सत्यम्¹¹] [॥१५॥*] ---, --- [1*] स्वस्थस्स-
 मावेश्य स तत्र राजा ससञ्ज भोगेषु यथेष्टचेष्ट¹² [॥१६॥*] अथ तस्य सुतो बभू-
 14 व राजा [1*] हरिरामहरस्मरेन्दुकान्ति¹³ हरिषेणो हरिविक्रम-
 प्रताप¹⁴ [॥१७॥*] स कुन्तलावन्तिकलिङ्गकोसलत्रिकूटलाटान्ध्र-
 15 --- जानिमान् [1*] --- शौर्य्यविश्रुतानपि स्वनिर्देशगुणाति ---¹⁵ [॥१८॥*]
 प्रथितो भुवि हस्तिभोजसूनुस्सचिवस्तस्य महीपते[र्बभूव] सकलक्षिति-
 16¹⁶ [॥१९॥*] [राज¹⁷]प्रजेष्ट स्थिरधीर-
 चेतास्त्यागक्षमौदार्य्यगुणैरुपेत [1*] धर्म्मणे धर्म्मप्रवणश्शशास देश यश पुण्यगुणाशु-
 17 ---¹⁸ [॥२०॥*] विशेषत . प्रति पुण्योपचय पर चकार [1*] यत
 ऊर्ध्वमिमा सहायधर्म्मा [निरतो] लोकगुरौ चकार काराम्¹⁹ [॥२१॥*] आयुर्व्वयोवि]त्सुखाणि-
 [नि]

¹ Metre of verses 6-9 is a species of *mātrāsamaka* as stated by Kichorn *Ep Ind*, Vol VIII, p 27. Dr. Venkatasubbarah calls it *Gītikā* *J O R*, Vol IX, pp 46 f and 179 f

² Bhagvanlal and Buhler proposed to read this name as रुद्रसेन See above, p. 105

³ This word was omitted in all previous transcripts

⁴ Buhler proposed to read the name of this prince as पृथिवीषेण See above, p 105

⁵ Read नृपोभवत्

⁶ Metre of verses 10-12—*Indravajrā* or *Upajāti*

⁷ Perhaps the word was श्रीहस्तिकोशो *Hastikośa*, as the designation of an officer, occurs in the Godāvarī copper-plate grant of Prithivīmūla *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 118.

⁸ These three *aksharas* are fairly clear

⁹ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁰ Metre *Upēndravajrā* or *Upajāti*.

¹¹ Metre *Upēndravajrā*

¹² Metre *Upajāti*

¹³ Bhagvanlal and Buhler read स्मरेव कान्ति which is ungrammatical Buhler's proposal to emend it as स्मरेन्द्रकान्ति is unnecessary as the *akshara* following रे is clearly न्दु

¹⁴ Metre *Aupachchhandasika*

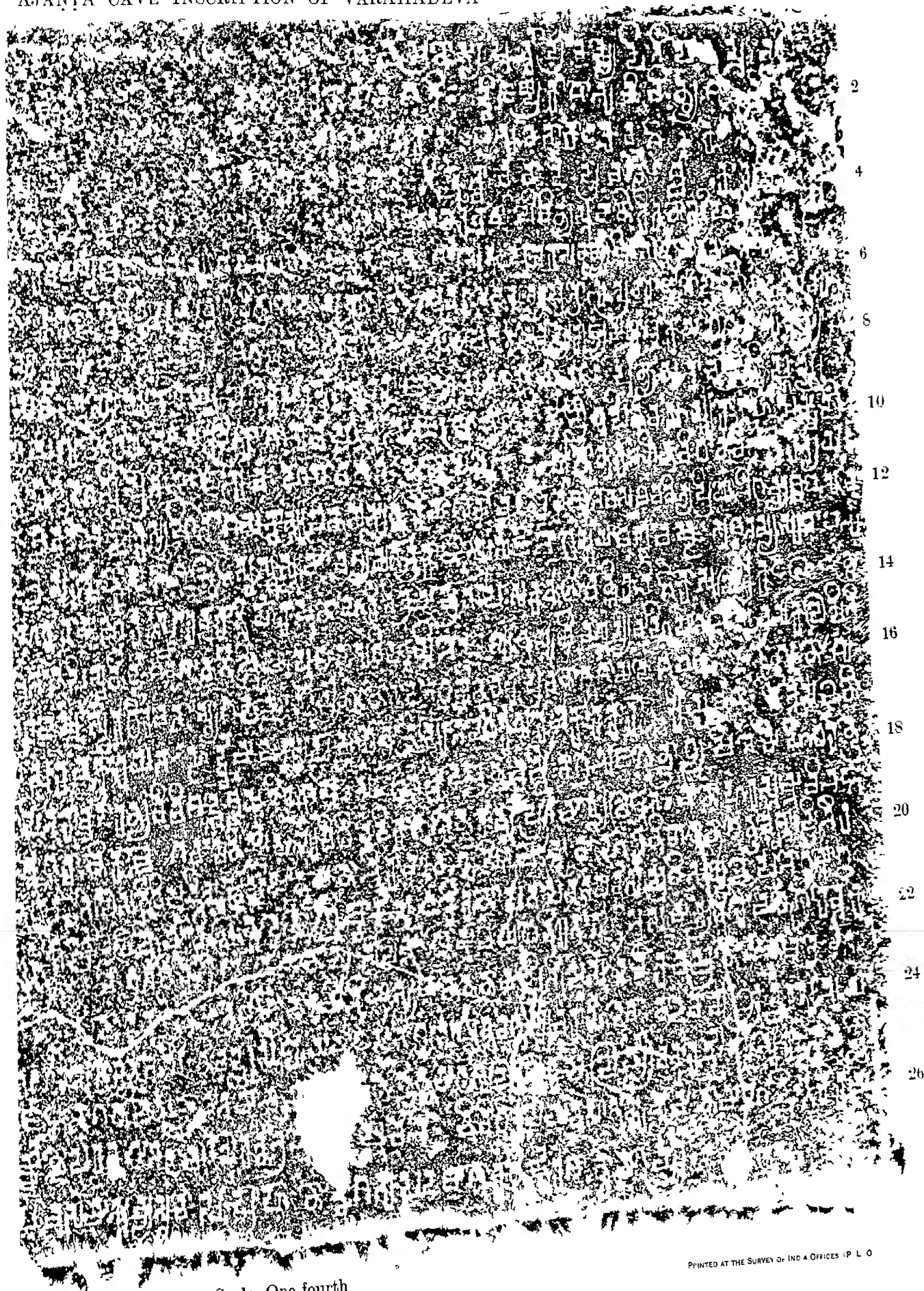
¹⁵ Metre *Vamśātha*

¹⁶ Metre *Aupachchhandasika*.

¹⁷ This word, though omitted by previous editors, is fairly clear in the new estampage.

¹⁸ Restore शुभ्र Metre *Indravajrā*

¹⁹ Metre. *Aupachchhandasika*.



Scale One-fourth

- 18 --, -- -- -- -- [चञ्च]लानि [1*] उ[द्दिश्य] मातापितरावुदार न्यवीशद्वेश्म यती-
[न्द्रसेव्यम्]¹ [112211*] [सजला]म्बुद[वृ]न्दलम्बिताग्रे² भुजगेन्द्राध्युषिते महीधरेन्द्रे [1*]
19 [वी?]रश्रीपतिना धरानि³कुञ्जै⁴[112311*] गवाक्षनिर्यूह-
सुवीथिवेदिका[सुरे]न्द्रकन्याप्रतिमाद्यलङ्कृतम् [1*] मनोहरस्तम्भविभङ्ग-
20 -- -- ⁵[नि]वेशिताभ्यन्तरचैत्यमन्दिरम्⁶ [112411*] -- -- -- तलसन्निविष्ट [वितान] -- --
-- मनोभिराम(मम्) [1*] -- -- प्रकामाम्बुमहानिधान⁷ नागेन्द्रवेश्मादिभिर-
21 -- -- -- ⁸[112511*] -- -- -- [र्म]ह[ति] समीरणे समन्तात् -- -- -- विविधविलास -- --
-- [1*] ग्रीष्मा[वर्कस्य च] किरणोपतापतप्त सर्वर्तुप्रथितगुणोपभोगयोग्य[म्]⁹ [112611*]
22 -- -- -- सुरेन्द्रमन्दिराणा रुचिमन्मन्दरकन्द[रानुरूपम् ।]
जनैर्यथेप्सित(तम्)¹⁰ [112711*] असमस्य विरोचने गिरेर्विक-
23 -- -- -- श्रमान्तकतया निवहेन
[112811*] -- -- विशालमिति यस्य जनेन नाम प्रीतिप्रसादविकचप्रणयेन चक्रे [1*] एतस्य
24 -- -- -- ¹¹लयन सुरेन्द्रमौलिप्रभोपचित[मङ्गलसंग्रहाय]¹² [112911*] निवेद्य सङ्गधाय
-- -- ¹³भक्त्या सबन्धुवर्गस्स वराहदेव [1*] नृदेवसौख्यान्यनुभूय -- -- ¹⁴
25 -- -- ¹⁵शास्ता सुगतप्रशस्त¹⁶ [113011*] सान्द्राम्भोदभुजङ्गभोग -- -- ¹⁷व्यावृत् -- -- --
-- -- -- नूतनमन शिलालकपिलैर्यावत्करैर्भा[स्कर] । तावच्छे-
26 -- -- -- -- -- -- -- से[व्य]तामन्तर्मण्डपरत्नमेतदमल रत्नत्र[यो*]द्वावि[त]-
(तम्)¹⁸ [113111*] विविधलयनसानुस्सेव्यमानो महद्भिर्गिरिरय-
27 -- -- -- -- -- -- -- द्वयः [1*] जगदपि च समस्त व्यस्तदोषप्रहाणा[द्वि]शतु पदमशोकं
निर्ज्वर शान्तमार्यम्¹⁹ [113211*]

TRANSLATION²⁰

(Verse 1) Having bowed to the sage (Buddha) who extinguishes the rising flames
of the sins of the three worlds I shall give a eulogy about a succession of kings

¹ Metre. *Upajāti*

² This first quarter of the verse has been read by me for the first time. The reading उद्धिताग्रे given by Bhagvanlal and Buhler does not give any good sense

³ Bhagvanlal and Buhler read शरा.

⁴ Metre *Aupachchhandasika*

⁵ Buhler doubtfully read नेदुरम्, but the *aksharas* are completely gone. Read भूषितम्

⁶ This last quarter, which I have read completely for the first time, shows that the *Chaitya-mandira* was not structural and outside the cave as supposed by Burgess, but that it was the shrine of the gigantic statue of the Buddha at the back of the cave. Compare निवेशितान्तर्मुनिराजचैत्यम् in line 24 of inscription No. 27.

⁷ Bhagvanlal and Buhler read -ञ्चाम्बुमहानिधानम् which does not yield a good sense. The expression प्रकामाम्बुमहानिधानम् occurs in line 26 of inscription No. 27 also

⁸ Read -रप्यलङ्कृतम् Metre *Upajāti*

⁹ Metre *Praharshini*

¹⁰ Metre of this and the next verse *Aupachchhandasika*

¹¹ The last two of the missing *aksharas* may have been गिरे

¹² Metre *Vasāntatilakā*

¹³ Read सुवेश्म.

¹⁴ Read सम्यक्

¹⁵ Read धम्मणे.

¹⁶ Metre *Upajāti*.

¹⁷ Read निकरै-

¹⁸ Metre *Sārdūlavakṛdita*

¹⁹ Metre. *Māhni*.

²⁰ In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Buhler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of certain passages

(V 2). There was a Brāhmana (*lit* , a twice-born man) on earth (*named*) **Vindhyaśakti**, whose strength increased in great battles, whose valour, when he was enraged, was irresistible even by gods, (*and*) who was mighty in fighting and charity

(V 3) He, whose majesty was like that of Indra and Upēndra (Vishnu), who, by the might of his arm, conquered the whole world (*and*) [who destroyed the up-rooted thorns]¹, became the standard of the **Vākātaka** race

(V 4) He, eclipsing in battles the sun with the masses of dust raised by (*the hoofs of*) his horses, making the enemies made them intent on salutation to him

(V 5) Having subdued his enemies for (*accomplishing*) the work of the gods, he made a great effort to acquire religious merit

(V 6) His son was **Pravarasēna (I)**, whose lotus-like feet were kissed by the rays of jewels worn on the heads of hostile kings (*and*) whose eyes resembled fresh, blooming lotuses

(V. 7) The rays of the sun (**Sarvasēna**)² was Pravarasēna (I)'s son who defeated all armies

(V 8) The illustrious **Vindhyasēna**,³ the noble son of the lord of kings, governed the earth righteously, having conquered **the lord of Kuntala**

(V. 9) His son was **Pravarasēna (II)**, who became exalted by his excellent, powerful and liberal rule

(V 10) His son who, having obtained the kingdom when eight years old, ruled well

(V 11) His son became king who, on earth, was known as **Dēvasēna** by whose lovely enjoyments the earth of the lord of gods⁴

(V 12) Through the greatness of the religious merit of (*that*) king properly (*there*) was **Hastibhōja**, the abode of excellences, the illustrious Commander of the Elephant Force on the earth⁵

(V. 13) He, who had a broad and stout chest and lotus-like eyes, (*and*) who destroyed the partisans of his enemies, (*who had*) arms resembled a scent-elephant stationed in a quarter

(V 14) Obliging, modest, loving, agreeable, obedient to (*the king's*) wishes, faultlessly . . .

(V 15) So also, on account of his being a well-wisher of the world as well as by his happy and excellent rule, he was, indeed, always dear and accessible (*to the people*) like (*their*) father, mother and friend

(V 16) The king, having entrusted (*the government of the kingdom*) to him, became free from care and engaged himself in the enjoyment of pleasures, acting as he liked

(V 17) Then his son became king . . . **Harishēna**, who, in loveliness, resembled Indra⁶, Rāma, Hara, Cupid, and the moon, and who was brave and spirited like a lion

(V 18) He [conquered], **Kuntala, Avanti, Kalinga, Kōsala, Trikūta, Lāta, Andhra**, which, though very famous for valour

¹i.e. , who exterminated wicked people

²Bhagvanlal and Buhler read the name of this prince as *Rudrasēna* See above, p 105

³Buhler read *Prthivishēna* as the name of this prince See above, p 105

⁴Perhaps the sense is that the earth vied with the world of the gods'

⁵*Hastikōsha* seems to be a technical official title as in the Godāvarī copper-plate grant of Prthivīmūla. Fleet took it to mean an official who kept the purse and made disbursements on account of the establishment of elephants *J B B R A S*, Vol XVI, p 119

⁶*Hari* of the text should be taken to mean 'Indra', not 'Vishnu', as Rāma, an incarnation of Vishnu, is separately named

(V 19) The son of **Hastibhōja**, renowned on earth, became the minister of that king whole earth

(V 20) Beloved by the king and the subjects, he, who was of staid and firm mind, endowed with the virtues of liberality, forgiveness and generosity, and intent on (*the performance of*) religious duty, governed the country righteously, (*shining*) brightly with the rays of his fame, religious merit and virtue

(V 21) He amassed a large store of religious merit for . especially, after which he, [regarding] the sacred law as his (*only*) companion, made this sacred dwelling,¹ being extremely devoted to (*the Buddha*), the teacher of the world

(V 22) [Realising that] life, youth wealth and happiness are transitory, . he, for the sake of his father and mother, caused to be made this excellent dwelling to be occupied by the best of ascetics

(V 23) On the best of mountains, on which hang multitudes of water-laden clouds (*and*) which is inhabited by the lords of serpents in the thickets of the slopes (?) of which . by the lord of the goddess of heroism

(V 24) [The dwelling] which is adorned with windows, doors, beautiful picture-galleries², ledges, statues of the nymphs of Indra and the like, which is ornamented with beautiful pillars and stairs, and has a temple of the Buddha inside

(V 25) Which is situated on the top (*of the mountain*), appears attractive a canopy, which is provided with a large reservoir of abundant water and is also ornamented with a shrine of the lord of the Nāgas³ and the like

(V 26) various pleasures in a fierce wind blowing all round warmed by the heat of the rays of the summer sun and affording enjoyment of well-known comforts in all seasons.

(V 27) [Which resembles] the palaces of the lord of gods and is similar to a cave in the lovely Mandara mountain as desired by the people

(V 28) which shines on (*the slopes of*) this matchless mountain since it removes fatigue

(V 29) The cave on this (*mountain*) . clothed in the brilliance of Indra's crown, which the people, with their love expanding through joy and gratification, have named -**visāla**⁴.

(V 30). Having presented (*the cave*) with devotion to the Community of Monks, **Varāhadēva** together with the multitude of his relatives, having enjoyed royal pleasures, ruled righteously, being praised like Sugata (i.e. the Buddha)

(V 31) As long as with the multitude of the hoods of serpents resembling crowding clouds as long as the sun [shines] with rays red like fresh red arsenic,—even so long may this spotless cave containing an excellent hall (*mandapa*) dedicated to the three *ratnas*, be enjoyed¹

(V 32) [May] this mountain, the peak of which contains various (types of) caves, which is inhabited by great people and may the whole world also, getting rid of its manifold sins, enter that tranquil and noble state, free from sorrow and pain¹

¹ *Kārā* seems to have been used here in the unusual sense of 'a place of worship'. It may be noted that *kāra* in Pali means 'an act of worship' or 'homage'. Buhler translated, 'He made a prison (?) all round for the teacher of the world'

² *Su-vithi* was translated as 'splendid verandahs' by Bhagvanlal and as 'beautiful terraces' by Buhler. It probably refers to the picture-galleries in the cave. Cf. *vithukā* used in the *Uttararāmacharita*, Act I. Burgess thought that the *charitya-mandiram* must be structural and outside; but it undoubtedly refers to the shrine containing a colossal statue of the Buddha at the back of the cave

³ This refers to the shrine of the Nāga Rāja 'in the staircase leading down from the front of the cave'.

⁴ Cave XVI seems to have borne a name ending in *visāla*

GHATŌTKACHA CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VARĀHADĒVA

THIS inscription was first published with an English translation, but without any facsimile plate, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of Western India) (1881), pp 88 f¹. He gave a fairly correct transcript of the text and pointed out that Hastibhōja, mentioned in line 10, was probably a minister of the Vākātaka king Dēvasēna. He further identified Dēvarāja mentioned in line 13 with the homonymous minister of a king of Āśmaka, mentioned in line 10 of the inscription in Cave XVII at Ajantā, and on the basis of this identification, conjectured that the Ghatōtkacha cave was of a somewhat later date than the Ajantā caves XVI, XVII and XXVI². The inscription was next edited with a lithograph and an English translation by Dr G Böhler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV (1883), pp 138 f and Pl LX. The lithograph was prepared from an estampage taken by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indrajī, and appears to have been somewhat worked up by hand. Dr Böhler's transcript and translation differed in some points from those of Pandit Bhagvanlal. He declared himself against the identification of Dēvarāja with the Āśmaka minister of the same name, proposed by Pandit Bhagvanlal, and apparently took Dēvarāja to be Indra, the lord of gods³. Böhler further pointed out that this ministerial family belonged to the Vallūras, which, he thought, was apparently a sub-division of the Malabār Brāhmanas⁴. The transcripts of Bhagvanlal and Böhler led to certain misconceptions regarding the original home of this family. I therefore published a revised edition of the record with a facsimile prepared from estampages supplied by the Archaeological Department of the Hyderabad State. It is re-edited here from the same estampages.

The present inscription is incised on the left end of the back wall of the verandah of what is known as the **Ghatōtkacha Cave** at **Gulwādā**, 11 miles west of Ajantā. It seems to have originally consisted of twenty-two lines, but the last four lines are now almost completely defaced. Of the remaining eighteen lines, again, only the first ten can be read more or less completely, but a major portion of the next eight lines on the right-hand side is now irrecoverably lost owing to the decay of the stone on which they were engraved. The inscription is, however, the only record which gives a complete genealogy of Varāhadēva, the minister of the Vākātaka king Harishēna, and this circumstance invests it with considerable importance. I have tried to decipher it as much as is possible in its present defaced condition.

¹ The Ghatōtkacha cave where the inscription is incised was first brought to notice by Captain Rose and described by Surgeon W. H. Bradley, but the present inscription does not appear to have been deciphered before 1881. Dr Burgess called it an inscription of Āśmaka princes, evidently relying on the account given by Pandit Bhagvanlal.

² Bhagvanlal gave the following genealogy of Dēvarāja: Hastibhōja, (his son) Varāhadēva, (his son) Bhavirāja, and (his son) Dēvarāja. According to him, Dēvarāja was the great-grandson of Hastibhōja and grandson of Varāhadēva. The Ajantā caves XVI and XVII were, however, excavated during the reign of the Vākātaka king Harishēna, whose minister was Varāhadēva. Cave XXVI was excavated by a Buddhist Bhikshu in honour of Bhavirāja, a minister of the king of Āśmaka.

³ As shown below, Dēvarāja in line 13 is none other than the Vākātaka king Dēvasēna.

⁴ This view rests on the reading *Malayē* in line 7, which, as shown below, is extremely doubtful. See below, p 116, n 8.

The inscription seems to have originally covered a space, 4' broad by 2' 4" high. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet, generally resembling those of the Vākātaka inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII at Ajantā. The only peculiarities that call for notice are as follows —The medial *ū* (long) is denoted by two horizontal strokes added to the vertical on the right in some cases and on the left in others, see *gurūnām*, line 1, and *Vallūna-*, line 3. In the case of *bhū*, on the other hand, the vowel is indicated by turning the vertical upwards to the right and adding a horizontal stroke to it, see *babhūa*, line 9, *t* is unlooped, while *n* shows a loop, *y* is tripartite except when it is subscript, the vertical stroke of *l* is invariably turned sharply to the left, a final consonant is indicated by its small size and a horizontal line at the top, see *tasmāt*, line 9. The sign for the *ṣivāmūliya* occurs in line 5 and 9, and that for the *upadhmānīya* in lines 4, 5 and 10.

The **language** is Sanskrit, and the whole record is metrically composed. Each line of it contains one verse. The metres used in it are *Indravajrā*, *Upajāti*, *Āryā*, *Pushpitāgrā* and *Vasantatilakā*¹. The record is composed in a simple and graceful style, generally free from solecisms. The only form which calls for notice is *āsa*, which, contrary to Pāṇini, II, 4, 52, is used in line 5 as an independent verb of the perfect tense². The **orthography** shows the usual peculiarities of the reduplication of a consonant after *r* and the use of the guttural nasal for *anusvāra*, see *vanśō*, line 3, and *vanśajāsu*, line 6.

The **object** of the inscription was apparently to record the excavation of the *Vihāra* cave by a minister of the **Vākātakas** whose name is unfortunately not preserved completely, but who, as shown below, was **Varāhadēva**, the son of **Hastibhōja**. The record opens with a verse in praise of the **Buddha**, who is described as the sage among sages and the teacher among teachers, who was a store of marvels. The second verse describes **Dharma** and **Gaṇa** (or Sangha), the other two members of the Buddhist trinity. With verse 3 begins the genealogy of the ministerial family. There is, we are told, a great race of excellent Brāhmanas called **Vallūras**, who are well-known in the south (V. 3). In it was born **Yajñapati**, who in learning resembled the great primeval sages, Bhrigu, Atri, Garga and Angiras (V. 4). His son was **Dēva**, who was a capable, learned and active statesman and on account of whom the whole kingdom together with the king performed their respective religious duties (V. 5). His son was **Sōma**, who took wives of the Kshatriya as well as the Brāhmana caste³. From the Kshatriya wife he obtained a handsome son named **Ravi**, who, possessing marks of royalty on his person, established his sway over the whole territory (V. 7). From other wives of the Brāhmana caste, Sōma obtained sons learned in the Vedas, whose habitation **Vallūra** was even then (i.e. at the time of the inscription) well-known in the south.

Ravi, who, as stated before, was born of a Kshatriya wife of Sōma, had a son named **Pravara**. The latter's son was **Śrī-Rāma**, who had a son named **Kīrti**. Kīrti's son was **Hastibhōja** (V. 9). Hastibhōja distinguished himself by his ability during the reign of the

¹ Buhler, who missed some of the *aksharas* in lines 13-18, thought that the metre of the inscription was *Upajāti* throughout. This is incorrect, for, as he admitted, the readings in these lines do not suit the metre. The metre, which is *Upajāti* up to v. 12 with the single exception of v. 3 (which is in *Indravajrā*), changes from v. 13.

² Kālidāsa, who flourished slightly earlier, uses *āsa* as an independent verb in his *Kumārasambhava*, canto I, v. 35. For an attempt to justify the form, see Vāmana's *Kāvyalankārasūtravṛtti*, V, 2, 27.

³ Such *anulōma* marriages were allowed by ancient Smritis. Cf. *Manusmṛiti*, III, 13. For a similar historical instance, see the Jōdhpur inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka, which in v. 7 mentions that the Brāhmana Harichandra married wives of the Brāhmana and Kshatriya castes. From the former he had Brāhmana sons and from the latter 'drinkers of wine' (i.e., Kshatriyas). *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 95.

Vākātaka king **Dēvasēna** (V 10) The next two verses (VV 11-12) which eulogised Hastibhōja are unfortunately very much mutilated Verse 13 commences with *atha* which indicates the introduction of a new subject¹ It mentions a son of **Dēvarāja**, named **Harishēna**². He is plainly identical with Dēvasēna's son Harishēna, the great Vākātaka king during whose reign the Ajantā caves XVI, XVII and XIX were excavated Bhagwanlal and Buhler, who could not decipher the two words *Dēvarāja-sūnur* = *Harishēnō*, missed completely the historical information given by this verse. The former identified this Dēvarāja with a minister of an Aśmaka king, while the latter thought that *dēvarāja* was no personal name at all³. Verse 14 seems to have continued the eulogy of Harishēna The next verse (15), which, like V 13, commences with *atha* seems to have resumed the description of Hastibhōja from V 12 Verse 16 refers to several sons⁴, apparently of Hastibhōja, perhaps in connection with a description of Varāhadēva, who succeeded his father as the Chief Minister of Harishēna His name is partially preserved in line 18 The lower part of the inscription which probably eulogised Varāhadēva and recorded the excavation of the Ghatōtkacha cave is completely lost.

As Dr Buhler observed, the wording of V 5 makes it probable that Dēva who is eulogised therein held the office of Prime Minister The king whom he served is not named, but in view of what has been said above, it would not probably be wrong to infer that his master belonged to the Vākātaka dynasty The ministers and the contemporary Vākātaka kings whom they served may therefore be stated as follows —

Ministers

Contemporary Vākātaka Kings (with approximate dates of accession)

Yajñapati

|
Dēva

|
Sōma

|
Ravi

|
Pravara

|
Śrī Rāma

|
Kīrti

|
Hastibhōja

|
Varāhadēva

Vindhyaśakti (250 A C)

|
Pravarasēna I (270 A C)

|
Sarvasēna (330 A C)

|
Vindhyaśēna (355 A C)

|
Pravarasēna II (400 A C)

|
(Name lost) (410 A C)

|
Devasēna (450 A C)

|
Harishēna (475 A C)

This ministerial family bore the name of **Vallūra**, which, as V 8 shows, was derived from their original habitation This place is said to have been situated in the south. Buhler, who, following Bhagvanlal, read *Malaya* in V 7 as the name of the country where Ravi was ruling, thought that the ministerial family was probably a sub-division of the

¹ In No 25, v 17 also the word *atha* is used to mark a change in the subject of description.

² Bhagvanlal read *atha Dēvarāja*, and Buhler, *atha dēvarājasya* in the beginning of V 13. Pl. LX in *A S W I*, Vol IV, defective as it is, shows clearly the *aksharas atha Dēvarāja-sūnur* = *Harishēna* clearly. There should therefore be no doubt about this reading

³ *A S W I*, Vol. IV, p. 139, n. 4

⁴ The inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā also refers to the *bandhu-varga* of Varāhadēva who apparently had a large number of relatives. See No 25, line 24.

Malabār Brāhmanas As shown below, the reading *Malaya* is extremely doubtful, and apart from this reading, there is no evidence to place the homeland of this family so far to the south It appears more likely that the family originally belonged to the southern portion of the former Hyderabad State, for even now there is a village named Vēlūr in the (Yelgandal) Karīmīnagar District of that State It may be noted in this connection that the Vākātakas who patronised this family appear to have originally belonged to the same part of the country; for the earliest mention of the name *Vākātaka* occurs in a pilgrim record on a pillar at Amarāvati¹, which lies only about 150 miles south by east of Vēlūr It is not unlikely that both these families which rose to distinction in the same period and were connected intimately with each other for several generations hailed from the same part of the country which was apparently the Central Deccan This gives a plausible explanation of how the Vākātakas rose to power in Vidarbha or Central Deccan immediately after the downfall of the Sāta-vāhanas

The present inscription has also a bearing on the **age** of the **Ghatōtkacha cave** which has been variously estimated In a note added to Bhagvanlal's transcript of this inscription, Burgess stated that Bhagvanlal's view that the Ghatōtkacha cave is of a somewhat later date than the Ajantā caves XVI, XVII and XXVI was borne out also by its architecture. Subsequently, Burgess seems to have modified his view, evidently in view of Buhler's interpretation of the present record, for he remarked in his report on the Buddhist Cave-Temples and their Inscriptions (*A S W I*, Vol IV) as follows—"It seems probable that Hastibhōja was the excavator of this cave which would thus belong to a period somewhat anterior to the Ajantā *vihāra* excavated by his son" As shown above, the Ghatōtkacha cave also was excavated during the reign of the Vākātaka king Harishēna by a son of the minister of Hastibhōja, who was probably Varāhadēva. It is therefore of the same age as the *Vihāra* Caves XVI and XVII and the *Gandhakutī* or *Chaitya* Cave XIX, all of which were excavated during the reign of the same Vākātaka king Any differences that may be noticeable in the architectures of these caves must be attributed to individual workmanship and not to a difference in their age

TEXT²

- 1 मुनिर्मुनीनामरोमराणा गुरुगुरुणा प्रवरो वराणा(णाम्)[*] जयत्यनाभोगविबुद्धबुद्धिर्बुद्धा-
भिधानो निधिरद्भुताना(नाम्) [॥१॥*]³
- 2 धर्मस्ततो धर्मविदा प्रणीतस्तथा[ग*][ण]श्चाग्रयतमो गणाना(नाम्) [*] भवन्ति य[स्मि]-
न्निहि[ता *] सु[पा]त्रे कारापका[रा]स्तन[या] ह्युदारा⁴ [॥२॥*]
- 3 अस्ति प्रकाशो दिशि दक्षिणस्या वल्लूरनाम्ना द्विजसत्तमाना(नाम्) [*] आ ब्रम्हणस्स-
भूतपुण्यकीर्त्तिर्व[ड]शो⁵ महीयान्म[हि]तो महद्भि⁶ [॥३॥*]

¹*Ep Ind*, Vol XV, p 267.

²From inked estampages supplied by the Archaeological Department, Hyderabad State

³Metre of vv 1 and 2 *Upajāti*

⁴The readings in the second half of this verse are not quite certain Bhagvanlal read तनयाप्युदारा, and Buhler तनया प्युदारा Buhler added in a note, "Either तनयाप्युदारा or नया ह्युदारा to be read". The *akshara* before दा is certainly ह्य, and the verbal form भवन्ति shows that the subject must be in the plural So तनया ह्युदारा must be the intended reading

⁵Bhagvanlal read -व्वशो, and Buhler -व्वशो व seems to have been repeated after र् Again, श् appears much below the line so that there is sufficient space for the superscript guttural nasal ङ्, though it is not quite certain here See वङ्गजासु in line 6 below Read -व्वगो

⁶Metre *Indravajrā*

- 4 त[स्मिन्न]भूदाहितलक्षणाना¹ द्विजन्मना [प्रा]थमकल्पिकाना(नाम्)² [1*] भृग्वत्रिगर्गाङ्गि-
गर[सा] समानो द्विजर्षभो [य]ज्ञ[पति]³प्रकाश⁴ [11४॥*]
5 तदा[त्म]जो देव इवास देवः⁵कृती गृही[ती]⁵ नयवान्क्रियावान् [1*] सराजक राष्ट्रमुपेत्य
यस्मिन्धर्म्यान्क्रिया[पार्थ]⁶ इव प्रचक्रे [11५॥*]
6 सोमस्ततः सोम [इ]वापरोभूत्स ब्राम्हणक्षत्रियवडशजासु⁷ [1*] श्रुतिस्मृतिभ्या विहिता[र्त्थ]-
कारी द्वयीषु भार्यासु मनो दधार [11६॥*]
7 स क्षत्रियाया कुलशीलवत्यामुत्पादयामास नरेन्द्रचिह्न(हम्) [1*] सुत सुरुप रविनामधेय
कृताधिपत्य वि[ष*]ये⁸ समग्रे [11७॥*]
8 द्विजासु चान्यासु सुतानुदारान्स [प्राप*]⁹ वेदेषु समाप्तकामान् [1*] वल्लूरनाम्ना¹⁰ दिशि
दक्षिणस्यामद्यापि येषा[म्ब]सति¹¹[द्वि]जाना(नाम्) [11८॥*]
9 रवेस्सुतो भूत्प्रवरामिधान श्रीरामनामाथ बभूव तस्मात् [1*] तस्यात्मज¹²ऋकीर्त्तिरभूत्सु-
कीर्त्तिर्बभूव तस्मादथ हस्ति[भोज]¹³ [11९॥*]
10 वाकाटके राजति देवसेने गुणैः¹⁴प्रकाशो¹⁴ भुवि हस्तिभोज¹⁵ [1*] अद्यापि यस्याभिजनप्र[दा]-

¹ Bhagvanlal and Buhler read दाहतलक्षणाना, but traces still remain of a curve on ह Cf ककुत्स्थ इत्याहितलक्षणोभूत् । in *Raghuvamśa*, VI, 71.

² Bhagvanlal read प्राथमकल्पिकाना, but Buhler gave the correct reading प्राथमकल्पिकाना

³ Bhagvanlal could not restore the name of the progenitor of this family He read यज्ञ प्रकाश, and thought यज्ञप्रकाश was his proper name प्रकाश is, however, used by the poet elsewhere also in the sense of 'well-known'. See lines 3 and 10, below Buhler suggested यज्ञधर and यज्ञपति as possible readings, and decided in favour of the latter The name is fairly clear in the fresh estampages The curve on the last letter is still seen So यज्ञपति is undoubtedly the correct name There are traces of the *upadhmānya* on *pra*

⁴ Metre of verses 4-12: *Upajāti*

⁵ Bhagvanlal read गृहस्थो, but as Buhler pointed out, the *i* mark of गृही is quite plain The next *akshara* also which was not read by Buhler has a similar *i*-mark The intended reading seems to be गृहीती Cf गृहीती षट्स्वङ्गेषु in the *Daśakumārācharita* (Bom Sanskrit Series, 1919), p. 100.

⁶ Bhagvanlal read पार्थ, and Buhler नाथ The first *akshara* of the word is fairly clear with the sign of *upadhmānya* over it, and in view of the comparison of Deva with *deva* (the god Krishna), the reading *Pārtha* is almost certain The second *akshara* is still quite clear It is र्थ and not दथ, nor थ.

⁷ Bhagvanlal and Buhler read वशजासु, but the superscript guttural nasal is quite clear Read -वशजासु.

⁸ Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read this word as मलये The first *akshara* appears more like *ma* than *ma*, the curve on it being still quite clear The second *akshara* is now very much damaged. It was probably so in the days of Bhagvanlal and Buhler also The facsimile published in *A.S.W.I.* (Pl. LX) shows it to be *la*, but its accuracy is doubtful, for in this epigraph the letter *l* has invariably its right limb sharply turned to the left in the form of a curve, but this *l* in Bhagvanlal's copy has a straight vertical stroke on the right Cf the forms of *l* in आहितलक्षणाना and प्राथमकल्पिकाना both in line 4, कुलशील in line 7, वल्लूर in line 8, धवला in line 14, and फलमविल- in line 17. In all these cases *l* has the same form, with its right limb bent over like a curve The correct reading therefore appears to be विषये.

⁹ Bhagvanlal read here doubtfully सोम, and Buhler, स[म]स्त Neither of these readings gives a verb which is necessary in this verse The *aksharas* here are damaged Restore प्राप

¹⁰ Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read वल्लूरनाम्ना, but Buhler proposed to emend it as वल्लूरनाम्ना. The proposed emendation is unnecessary The Brāhmanas were known as *Vallūras* (v 3, above), because they were residing at Vallūra as stated here Cf उदुम्बरनामान which occurs in the description of the ancestors of Bhavabhūti *Mālatīmadhava*, Act I

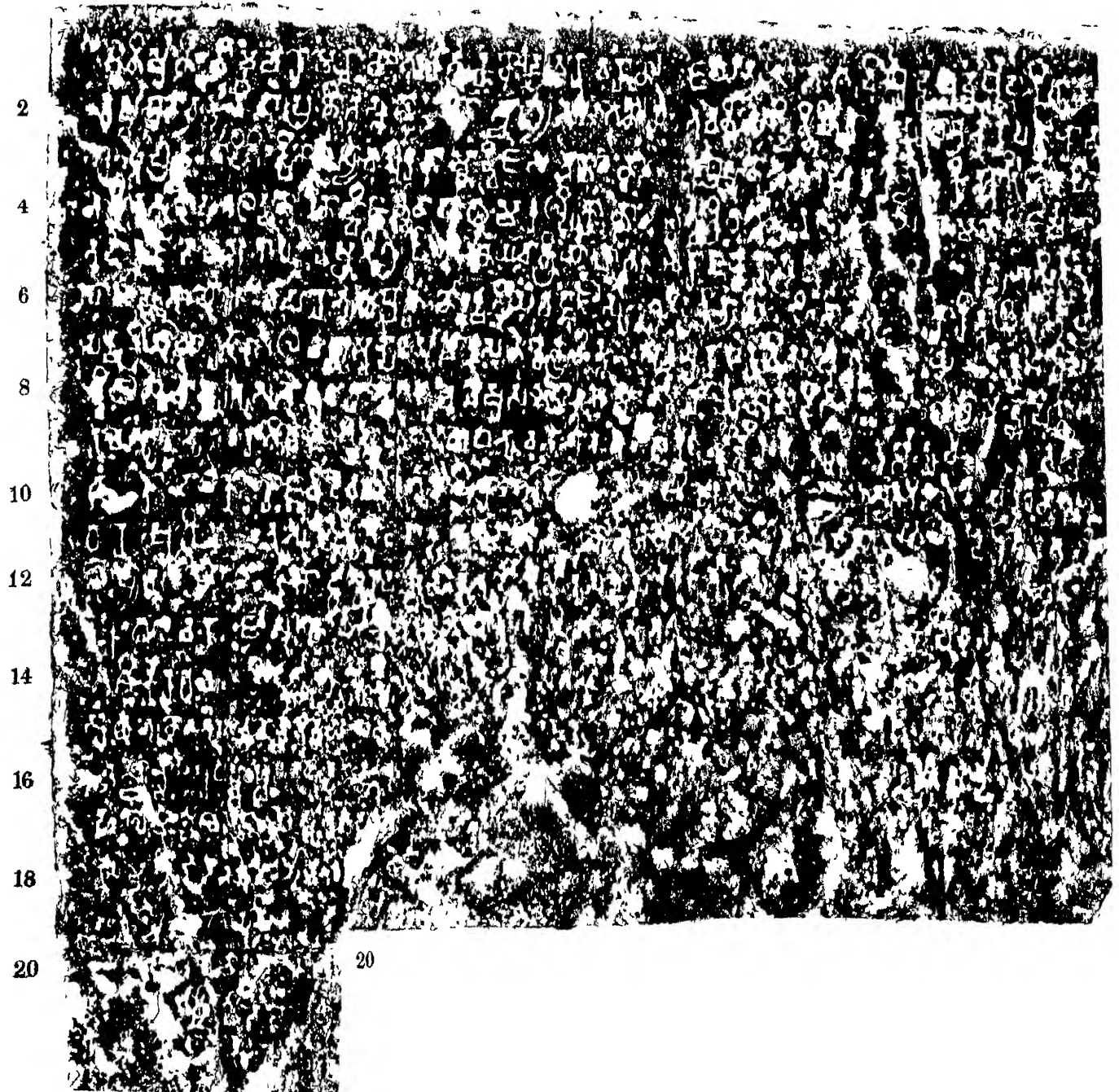
¹¹ Read येषा वसति-

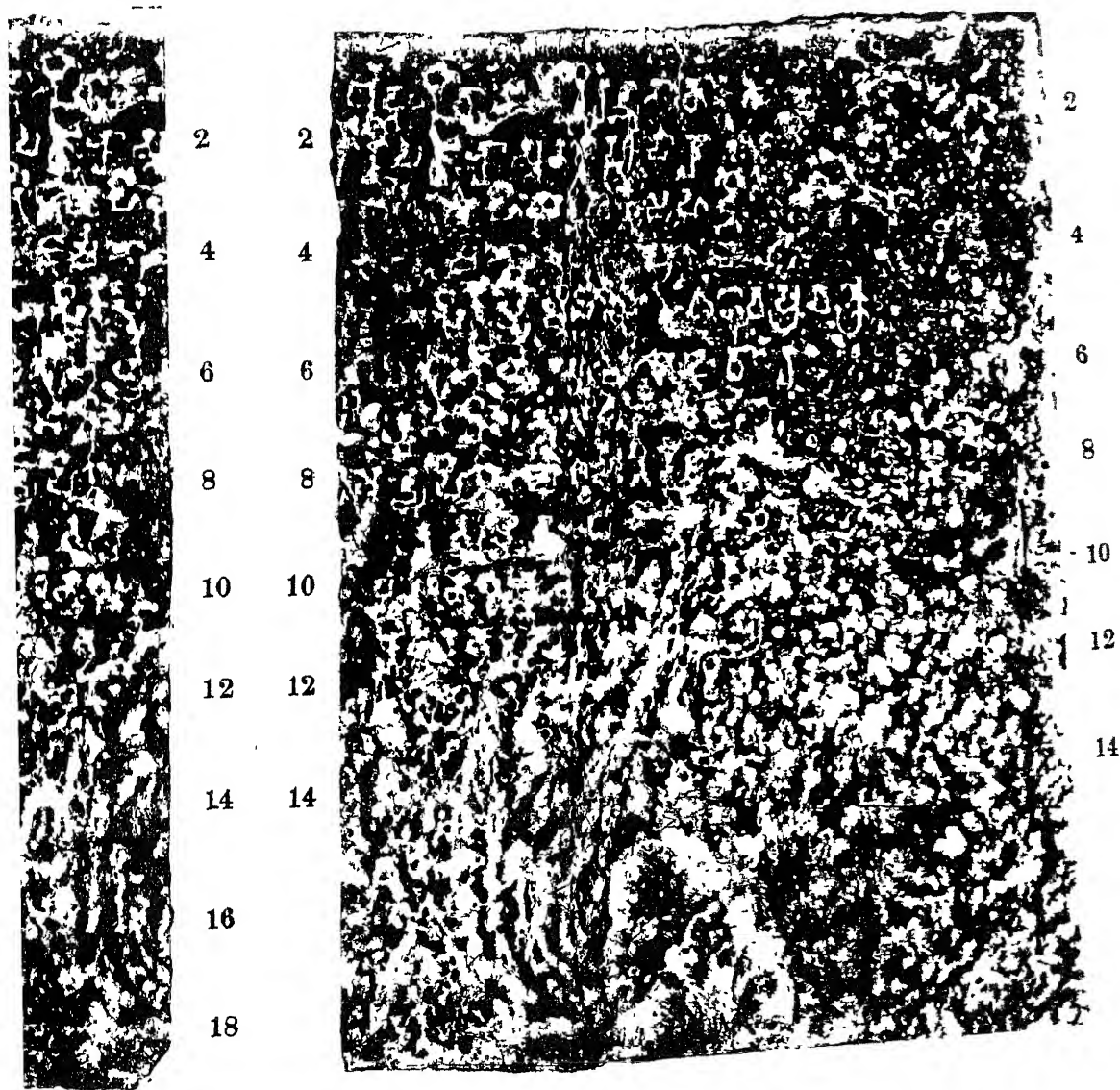
¹² Bhagvanlal and Buhler read तदात्मज-, but the subscript *y* of the *akshara* following *ta* shows that it is probably *ya*

¹³ Bhagvanlal read ह[स्तिभोज], and Buhler, [हस्तिभोज] The first two *aksharas* of this name are quite certain, but the last two are now damaged

¹⁴ Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read this word as गुणैषिकोशो which does not yield good sense. What they took as the *i*-mark of *shu* is really the sign for the *upadhmānya* above *pra* Read गुणैःप्रकाशो. The poet has used प्रकाश elsewhere also in this inscription, see above, lines 3 and 4

¹⁵ The *aksharas* भुवि, which were fairly clear in the days of Bhagvanlal and Buhler, are now much damaged The first *akshara* ह of the name हस्तिभोज is partially damaged but the following *aksharas* can be read from the traces still remaining





- न—[॥१०॥*]
 11 धीरेषु धीमत्सु सहोत्थितेषु कृत्य[प्र]मा[णेषु] गुणान्वितेषु [१*]—नृपतेर्यदे—
 —[॥११॥*]
 12 यस्यासनाद्ध[पु]रुषा¹—, —मात्ससदि—[१*]—,
 —[॥१२॥*]
 13 अथ देवराजसूनु²हरिषेणो हस्तिभोज [१*]
 .
 3 [॥१३॥*]
 14 शशिकरधवला नि[री]क्ष्य की[र्त्ति]—[१*]—
 —, —⁴ [॥१४॥*]
 15 अथ गुणशतसम्भृतात्मभूत प्रियतन[यो*]—[१*]—
 —, —[॥१५॥*]
 16 तस्यात्मजेषु बहुषु—, —[१*]—
 —, —⁵ [॥१६॥*]
 17 फलमखिल—, —[१*]—
 —, —⁶ [॥१७॥*]
 18 सम्यग्विभावित इहास्ति वराह[देव*]—[१*]—
 —, —⁷ [॥१८॥*]⁸

TRANSLATION⁹

(Verse 1) Victorious is he who is called the Buddha, the sage among sages, the teacher among teachers, the immortal among immortals, the best among the eminent (and) a store of marvels—who attained enlightenment by abstention from the enjoyment¹⁰ (of worldly pleasures)

(V 2) (Victorious) next (is) the law promulgated by him who knows the law, and (victorious) also (is) the Community, the best among all communities, having done service to which¹¹, a worthy recipient, the sons (of men) become exalted

¹ Bhagvanlal read पुरुषा, but Buhler took the word to be सुरसा. The *aksharas* are doubtful, but I have followed Bhagvanlal as the traces left admit of that reading.

² Bhagvanlal could read only देवराज, and Buhler देवराजस्य. The *akshara* following देवराज is clearly स. The next *akshara* has lost its upper part, but the lower u-sign is clear. The following *akshara* is clearly हा. It closely resembles हा in महद्भि, line 3. The next *akshara* is almost certainly न. The name was undoubtedly हरिषेणो, the last two *aksharas* being clear in the new estampages. As the previous editors missed this important name, they were unable to identify this Dēvarāja correctly.

³ Metre *Āryā*

⁴ Metre of verses 14 and 15 *Pushpitāgrā*

⁵ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁶ Metre *Pushpitāgrā*

⁷ Metre *Vasantatilakā*

⁸ There are traces of an *akshara* here and there in the next four lines in the lithograph published in *A.S.W.I.*, Vol. IV, Pl. LX as well as in the estampages supplied to me, but no words can be read completely.

⁹ In this translation I have derived some help from Dr. Buhler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of several passages.

¹⁰ *Anābhoga* is 'lack of attention or interest, disinclination'. See *A Critical Pali Dictionary* by Trenckner, Anderson and Smith. Buhler translates it as 'abstaining from fruition'.

¹¹ The sense of the second half of this verse is somewhat obscure. *Kāra* seems to be used herein the same sense as in Pali, viz., a deed, service, act of mercy or worship, homage. *Kārāpakāra* is apparently used here in the same sense as *Kārakāṇaka* 'one who performs a religious duty or service'. (*Pali Dictionary* by Rhys Davids). *Kārā* has been used in line 17 of No. 25 above. See p. 111, n. 1, above. This

(V. 3) In the southern country is well known a great race of most eminent Brāhmanas named **Vallūras**, which (*race*) has accumulated religious merit and glory since (*the age of*) Brahmā and is honoured by the great

(V. 4) In that (*race*) was born famous **Yajña[pati]**¹, an excellent Brāhmana, who resembled the primeval Brāhmanas Bhrigu, Atri, Garga and Aṅgiras, noted for their good qualities

(V. 5) His son was **Dēva**, who being wise, learned, proficient in political wisdom and engaged in the performance of religious rites, resembled the god (Krishna), being guided by whom, the whole kingdom together with the king performed religious duties even as Pārtha (*i.e.*, Arjuna) did (*under the guidance of Krishna*)²

(V. 6) From him was born **Sōma**, a second moon as it were, who, performing religious duties as enjoined by the Vēdas and Smṛitis, gave his love (*equally*) to wives of the two (castes), born in Brāhmana and Kshatriya families

(V. 7) On a Kshatriya wife of noble birth and character, he begot a good-looking son named **Ravi**, possessed of marks of royalty who established his sway over the whole territory³

(V. 8) From other Brāhmana wives he obtained sons who fulfilled their desires in mastering the Vēdas,—whose habitation named **Vallūra** is even now (*well-known*) in the southern country⁴

(V. 9) The son of Ravi was **Pravara**. From him sprang **Śrī-Rāma**. His son was **Kīrti** of good repute, and from him was born **Hastibhōja**.

(V. 10) When the **Vākātaka Dēvasēṇa** was ruling, **Hastibhōja** distinguished himself by his excellences—(*he*) whose noble birth (*and*) charity even now⁵

(V. 11) Among the resolute, intelligent, efficient and meritorious colleagues . . . when the king's

(V. 12) Occupying a half of whose seat . . . men . . . in the assembly . . .

Footnote No. 11—(Continued)

verse has puzzled previous editors. Bhagvanlal translated, 'Even an ungrateful and unjust prison(?) dedicated to his virtuous person, becomes the bestower of good'. Buhler gave the following rendering: 'The Community (*of ascetics*) placed in which, as in a beautiful vessel, even those who have sinned by committing murder, become exalted'. In a note he adds, 'The phrase *kārāpakārāstanayāh* is very ambiguous as it may be taken as one compound, consisting of *kārāpakāra* and *astanaya*, or as two words *kārāpakārās* and *tanayāh* as *kāra* may be interpreted 'effort' or 'a Yati' or 'murder'. If it is taken as a compound it may be translated by 'those whose efforts are offences and who thus cast aside good behaviour or prudence', or by 'those who offend against ascetics, and thus' etc.—or by 'those whose offence is murder and who thus' etc. If we adopt the second division *tanayāh* means 'sons' and *kārāpakārāh* can again be taken in various ways. The poet no doubt intended to puzzle the reader. But in any case the general sense remains the same, and the half verse is intended to assert that sinners are purified by joining the Buddhist Sangha'.

¹This name is almost certain

²Buhler, who read *nātha* in place of *Pārtha*, translated as follows—'Under whom, when he gained possession of the kingdom and of the king, lawful rites were performed as in the (*time of*) the Lord Buddha'. With the reading *dharma-yāh kṛiyāh* which Buhler adopted, this construction is impossible, for the verb would be expected to be in the plural, not in the singular as here (*prachakre*). As shown above, the reading is undoubtedly *Pārtha* and so the simile seems to have been suggested by the name *Dēva*. The sense seems to be that the whole kingdom together with the king did its duty being guided by *Dēva*, even as Arjuna had done before by the advice of the god Krishna.

³As shown above, the reading *Malayē* is not likely. Ravi was therefore ruling over the territory round his native place Vallūra, not over Malaya.

⁴As the reading is clearly *Vallūra-nāmnā* here, as given by both Bhagvanlal and Buhler, Vallūra is primarily the name of the village. The family became known by that name as it was living at the place.

⁵This indicates that Hastibhōja was dead when the inscription was incised.

- (V 13) Then there is **Harishēṇa**, the son of **Dēvarāja**¹ **Hastibhōja** . . .
 (V 14) Observing (*his*) fame as white as moon-beams. . . .
 (V 15) Then was born (*to Hastibhōja*) a dear son², who was his (very) self, possessed
 of a hundred qualities
 (V 16). Among his many sons³
 (V 17) the entire reward
 (V 18) Here is **Varāhadēva**, thoroughly examined

¹Bhagvanlal, taking *Dēvarāja* to be a proper name, identified him with the minister of the Aśmaka king mentioned in an inscription in Cave XXVI at Ajantā, while Buhler thought that it meant the lord of gods, Indra. The reading *Dēvarāja-sūnur-Harishēṇō*, given here for the first time, shows clearly that this *Dēvarāja* was none other than the Vākāṭaka king *Dēvasēna*, and his son was the same as *Harishēna*. The cave was thus excavated during the reign of *Harishēna*, not of *Dēvasēna*.

²This son was probably *Varāhadēva* who is mentioned in the large Vākāṭaka inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā as the successor of *Hastibhōja* and minister of *Harishēna*. Cf. *Prithivīrāja* used in the sense of *Prithivishēna* I in No 14, line 19, above, p 66

³Perhaps this verse stated that of the numerous sons of *Hastibhōja*, *Harishēṇa* selected *Varāhadēva* for the post of his Prime Minister.

INSCRIPTION IN AJANTĀ CAVE XVII

THOUGH the present inscription had been copied several times before¹, the first attempt to edit it was that of Dr Bhau Daji. He personally copied this and other inscriptions at Ajantā in February 1863, and submitted his papers on them to the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on the 10th July 1863². He published an eye-copy of the epigraph together with a transcript and a sort of English translation in the *Journal* of the Society Vol VII, pp 53 f. He read the names of nine princes, of whom four, viz, Dhritarāshtra, Harisāmba, Śaurisāmba and Ravisāmba, he thought, belonged to one dynasty and the remaining five, whose names he read as Upēndragupta, Skācha, Niladāsa, Skācha and Krishnadāsa³, to another. In line 13 he read *Amitya* as the name of a minister⁴ who, he thought, probably served Ravisāmba. Dr Bhau Daji failed to notice that Harishēna, mentioned in line 21, was identical with the homonymous Vākātaka king named in the inscription in Cave XVI at Ajantā. About the general purport of the epigraph and the location of the kingdom or capitals of these princes he offered no remarks.

The inscription was next edited, with an introductory note and a translation, but without any facsimile, by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji in the *Inscriptions from the Cave-Temples of Western India* (Archaeological Survey of Western India), (1881), pp 73 f. The Pandit deciphered the record with his usual skill and thoroughness. He, for the first time, gave correctly the names of the following ten princes, all of whom, according to him belonged to the same royal family and ruled over Āsmaka — Dhritarāshtra, Harisāmba, Śaurisāmba, Upēndragupta, Agaja or Kācha I, Bhikshudāsa, Niladāsa, Kācha II, Krishnadāsa and Ravisāmba. Again, he drew attention to the name of the king Harishēna, whom he identified with the Vākātaka prince of that name and to whom, he thought, this Āsmaka family might have been subordinate. Further, from the fragmentary phrases of verse 12, Bhagvanlal conjectured that the elder son of Krishnadāsa whose name is obliterated murdered his brother Ravisāmba, but afterwards repented. The *vihāra* where the present inscription is incised was constructed either by this king or his minister whose name Bhagvanlal read as *Achintya*. As regards the date of the inscription, he thought that it belonged to the same age as that in Cave XVI which was incised in characters 'current in Chhattisgarh District and the country round the Bāngangā about the 5th and 6th century A D.'

The epigraph was next edited with a lithograph and a translation by Dr G. Buhler in the *Archaeological Survey of Western India*, Vol IV (1883), 128 f and Pl lvi. The lithograph was made from a facsimile prepared by Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji and appears to have been considerably worked up by hand. Dr Buhler's transcript does not differ much from Pandit Bhagvanlal's. He gave the same names of princes, but he corrected the Pandit's statement about the purport of verse 12. He showed that the correct meaning of the verse was that the younger brother perished suddenly by an accident or died of a disease. The next verse,

¹ *JASB*, Vol V, p 554, *JBBRAS*, Vol VII, pp 55 f

² *JBBRAS*, Vol VII, pp 53 f

³ The correct names Kācha (I), Niladāsa, Kācha (II) were given for the first time by Pandit Bhagvanlal.

⁴ As shown below, no minister is named here. The word *sachiva* which occurs in verse 13 has misled all previous editors. For its correct meaning, see p 122, n 3, below.

according to him, mentioned the ruling king's minister Achitya who donated the *vihāra*. Dr Buhler referred the inscription to the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century A C

The record was finally edited by me from an excellent inked estampage supplied by the Government Epigraphist for India. It was published with a translation and a mechanical facsimile in the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No 15. It is edited here from the same facsimile.

The inscription is engraved on a side wall outside the verandah in **Cave XVII** at **Ajaṇṭā** in the former Hyderabad State. It has suffered much by exposure to weather. Several *aksharas* in the beginning of each line on the left have been completely destroyed by rain-water trickling over them. Besides, a few *aksharas* here and there have become illegible. The general purport of the inscription can, however, be made out without much difficulty.

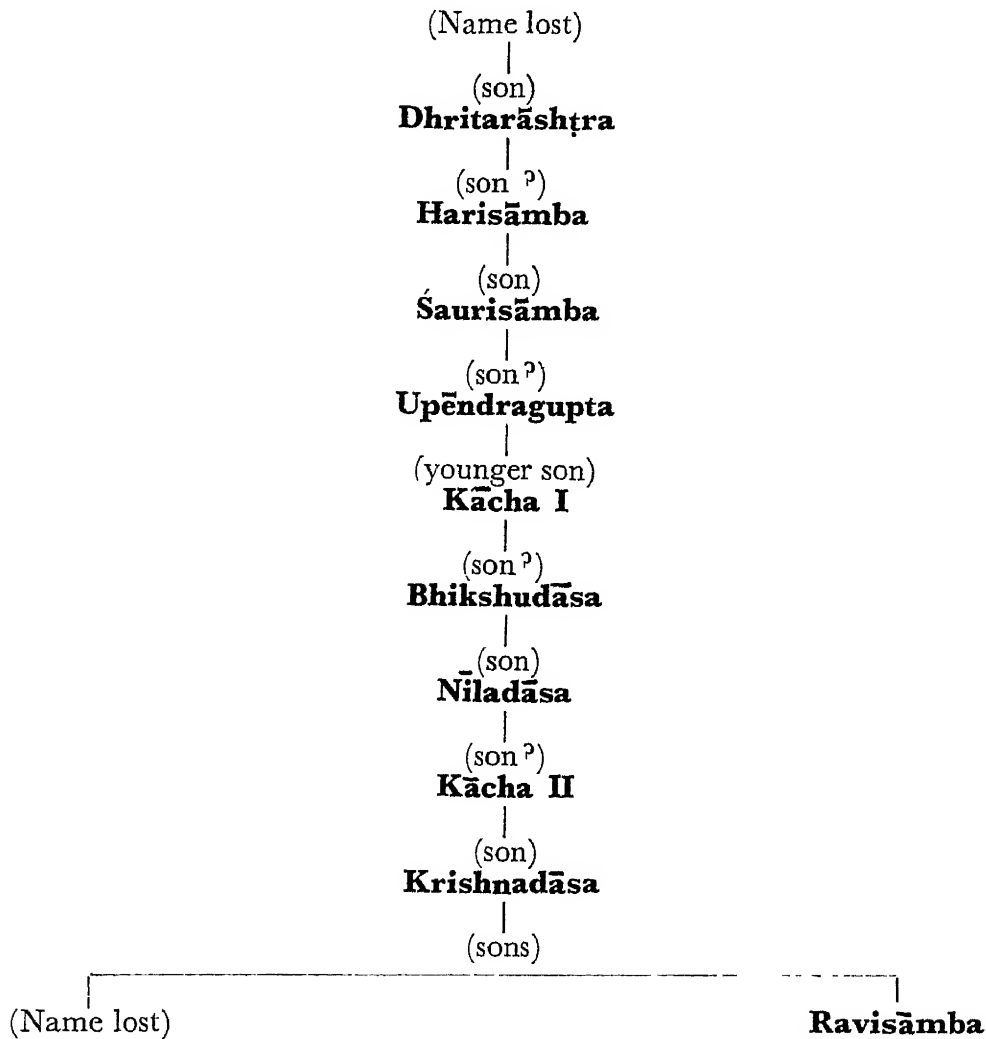
The inscription covers a space 4' broad and 4' 5" high. The **characters** are of the box-headed variety of the southern alphabets. The following peculiarities may be noted:—The length of the medial *ī* is shown by a curling curve which is generally turned to the left as in *marīchi-* line 20 and *nyavivīśat*, line 26, but in some cases the curve is turned to the right as in *pradīpta-*, line 6 and *vyavivridhat*, line 13, the medial *au* is bipartite as in *kānta-rūpau*, line 8, *k* is cursive in *prakām-*, line 26, *ch* and *v* are in some cases indistinguishable; see *marīchi-*, line 20 and *vavir-*, line 29, *d* in *Bhukshudāsa* line 5, and *pradīpta-*, line 6 is angular. The sign for the *jhvāmūliya* occurs in lines 1, 4 and 6, and that for the *upadhmāniya* in lines 11 and 13. The **language** is Sanskrit and the whole record is metrically composed. There are twenty-nine verses in all, none of which is numbered. Each line of the inscription contains one complete verse. The completion of the first hemistich is in some cases marked by a horizontal stroke and that of a whole verse by two vertical strokes. As for **orthography**, we may note that the consonant following *ṛ* is generally reduplicated, see *karmmanō*, line 1, *kīrtti-*, line 5 etc., the *visarga* is correctly omitted in *bhūva stūpa-* in line 22 in accordance with a *vārttika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36, but the final *n* is wrongly changed to *anusvāna* in *anūchivām*, line 18.

As shown below, the inscription was caused to be incised by a prince whose name is now unfortunately lost, but who was probably ruling over Khāndēśh as **a feudatory** of the **Vākātaka Emperor Harishēṇa**. The **object** of it is to record the excavation, by this prince¹, of the *vihāra* cave XVII and the *gandhakutī* Cave XIX² at Ajaṇṭā. The present inscription may therefore be referred to the end of fifth century A C. It is of the same age as the inscription in Cave XVI, which also belongs to the reign of the same Vākātaka Emperor Harishēṇa.

Owing to the destruction of a considerable portion on the left, the inscription does not admit of a detailed analysis. The gaps in the text are required to be filled in some places by conjecture. The record opens with an obeisance to the sage (Buddha), who is described as a thunderbolt to the tree of worldly existence. The poet then proceeds to give the following pedigree of the donor of the *Vihāra* Cave —

¹ All previous editors of the present inscription, who were misled by the word *sachiva* occurring in line 13, thought that this cave also, like Cave XVI, was caused to be excavated by a minister. For the correct interpretation of the verse see below, p 122.

² Bhagvanlal thought that the *gandhakutī* mentioned in v 27 was the small Cave XVIII from which the image which was movable had been removed. See *Inscriptions* etc, p 76, n 2. The description, however, clearly refers to the Chaitya Cave XIX which is actually situated to the west of Cave XVII.



The name of the founder of the family is now lost, but from the description in verse 2, it seems to have been one signifying 'Protector of men'¹ The relation of Harisāmba, Upēndragupta, Bhikshudāsa and Kācha (II) to their predecessors is not specified in the preserved portion of the inscription About Kācha I we are told that he was a younger son of his father Upēndragupta, but why his elder brother did not succeed to the throne is not stated

Krishnadāsa married a princess whose name also is unfortunately uncertain². He had from her two sons who are said to have resembled Pradyumna and Sāmba, the well-known sons of the epic hero Krishna The name of the elder son has not been preserved, but the younger was called **Ravisāmba**. The elder son succeeded to the throne The two brothers conquered **Aśmaka** and other countries and lived happily together, with increasing fraternal love and fame After some time Ravisāmba met with premature death, which, the poet says, was due to his deeds in former lives The elder brother, being overwhelmed with sorrow and convinced of the transitoriness of worldly existence³, began to lead a pious

¹ The verse does not state that he was the son of a king as Bhagvanlal supposed See *Inscriptions* etc., p. 73.

² Bhau Dajī read the name of the queen as *Āmachandrā*, and Buhler as *Suchandrā*, but neither of these readings is supported by the facsimile The correct reading appears to be *Atichandrā*.

³ This is the correct meaning of verse 13 -*Anitya-samyññā-sachivas=tatah param vyavivrdhat=punya-mahā-mahīruham* *Anitya-samyññā* (Pali, *anuchcha-sañña*) is mentioned in the *Udāna* as a subject of meditation. There is no reference to any minister here.

life. He waited upon saintly persons known for their learning, charity, compassion and other virtues and imitated in his actions righteous kings. He bestowed munificent gifts on suppliants and being moved by compassion, released from bondage terrified persons by spending large amounts for the purpose. Realising that wealth causes an obstacle in the attainment of *siddhi* by meditation on the Omniscient (Buddha), he adorned the earth with *stūpas* and *vihāras*, and delighted suppliants with liberal gifts, while **Harishēṇa**, the moon among kings, was protecting the earth. He also caused the excellent monolith *mandapa* containing the *chaitya* of the Buddha to be excavated in the form of the present Cave XVII on a beautiful spur of the **Sahya** mountain. He provided it with a water cistern and caused a noble *gandhakutī*¹ to be excavated to the west of it in another part of the same hill. The last verse (29) expresses the hope that the *mandapa* would cause the well-being of good people as long as the sun continues to dispel darkness with its rays.

The foregoing account of the inscription must have shown that the last of these kings whose name is unfortunately lost was a contemporary and probably a feudatory of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishena. He was preceded by ten other princes. The founder of the family whose name has not been preserved may, therefore, have been reigning in the period from *circa* 275 to 300 A.C.

From the mention of **Aśmaka** in v. 10 of the present inscription Pandit Bhagvanlal conjectured that these princes were ruling over Aśmaka. The verse, however, plainly shows that Aśmaka was one of the countries raided by these princes, it was not their homeland. From the *Suttanipāṭa* we learn that the Aśmakas were settled in the vicinity of the Gōdāvarī and that their country bordered on that of the Mūlakas². The *Suttanipāṭa* further states that the disciples of the Brāhmana Bāvarī who was living on the bank of the Gōdāvarī in the country of Aśmaka, proceeded to North India *via* Pratiśthāna (modern Parthan), the capital of Mūlaka³. Aśmaka, therefore, appears to have been situated to the south of the Gōdāvarī and probably comprised parts of the Ahmednagar and Bhir District. The country of Aśmaka thus lay to the south of Ajantā and was different from Khāndēsh which lay to the north of it.

The ancient name of Khāndēsh seems to have been **Rishika**. Varāhamihira places Rishika in the southern division. In the *Rāmāyana* Rishika is grouped with Vidarbha among the countries of the south which Sugrīva asked monkeys to visit in search of Sītā⁴. In the *Mahābhārata* also Rishika is coupled with Vidarbha⁵. Elsewhere the epic mentions Rishika and Aśmaka among the countries conquered by Karna⁶. In the *Daśakumāracharita* the ruler of Rishika is said to have been, like that of Aśmaka, a feudatory of the king of Vidarbha⁷. The Nāsik cave inscription of Pulumāvi mentions Asika (Sanskrit, Rishika) together with Asaka (Sanskrit, Aśmaka) and Mūlaka among the countries governed by Pulumāvi's father Gautamīputra Sātakaṁ⁸. All these references show that Rishika was contiguous to Aśmaka, Vidarbha and Mūlaka. The only country which answers to this geographical position is Khāndēsh, for it is bounded on the east by Bera (ancient Vidarbha), and on the

¹ This is the Chaitya Cave XIX, about the age of which there was much uncertainty.

² *Suttanipāṭa*, Pārāyanavaggo, vatthugāthā, 5, 2.

³ *Ibid.*, v. 16.

⁴ *Rāmāyana* (Nirayasaragar ed.), Kishkindhākāṇḍa, v. 10.

⁵ *Mahābhārata* (Chitraśālā Press ed.), Bhishmaparvan adhyaya 9, v. 64.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Karnaparvan, adhyaya 8, v. 20.

⁷ *Daśakumāracharita* (Bom. Sanskrit Series), p. 138.

⁸ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 60 f.

south by the Aurangābād District (ancient Mūlaka) South of Mūlaka lay Aśmaka (modern Ahmadnagar and Bhir districts) The district obtained its modern name Khāndēsh in much later times¹

The royal family described in the present inscription, which rose to power in the second half of the third century A C, must have first owed allegiance to the Abhīras who succeeded the Sātavāhanas as an Imperial power in the Deccan² After the fall of the Ābhīras, they seem to have transferred their allegiance to the Vākātakas A fragmentary verse in the adjoining Cave XVI at Ajantā states that the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna either raided or exacted tribute from Trikūta, which comprised the territory round Nāsik. Khāndēsh which lay between Vidarbha and Trikūta must have likewise submitted to the Vākātakas In fact, the present inscription mentions the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna in a manner which indicates that he was the lord paramount of this royal family The *Daśakumāracharita* gives in the eighth *Uchchhvāsa*, a narrative which seems to have had a historical basis³ As shown elsewhere, it reflects the last period of Vākātaka rule, viz, the reign of Harishēna's son The narrative mentions the ruler of Rishika (modern Khāndēsh where this royal family was reigning) as a feudatory of the Emperor of Vidarbha This is a further indication that this royal family owned the suzerainty of the Vākātakas

We have no records of any successors of Krishnadāsa's son, who, as we have seen, was a contemporary of the Vākātaka Emperor Harishēna The dynasty appears to have been overthrown by the Kalachuris of Māhishmatī who occupied Northern Mahārāshtra after the downfall of the Vākātakas Hoards of the silver coins (*rūpakas*) of Krishnarāja, the founder of the Kalachuri power, have been found both in the Nāsik District⁴ and Berar⁵, which border Khāndēsh on the west and the east respectively A coin of the same king has recently been reported from Nandurbār in the Khāndēsh District

TEXT⁶

- 1 ———— [भव*]द्रुमाशनि⁷ प्रणम्य विद्यात्रयपारग मुनिम् [1*] विहारदातुर्व्यवदात-
कर्मणो⁸ गुणाभिधानोपनय करिष्यते⁹ ॥[१॥*]
- 2 ———— [पा*]लनेन¹⁰ लब्धात्मभावस्य नराधिपत्य [1*] धृतातपत्रस्य बभूव पुत्रस्सिता-
तपत्रो धृतराष्ट्रसन्¹¹ ॥[२॥*]
- 3 ———— स्य राज्ञो हरिसाम्बोम्बुरुहेन्दुकान्तवक्त्र. [1*] नृपतेस्तनयो बभूव तस्या-
प्यमलश्री क्षितिपालशौरिसाम्ब¹² ॥ [३॥*]

¹ The present name of Khāndēsh is said to have been given to the district in Musalman times to suit the title of *Khān* conferred on the Farukī kings by Ahmad I of Gujarāt. *EHD*, p 138

² The grants of three other kings of Khāndēsh are dated in the Ābhīra era *ABORI*, Vol XXV, pp 98 f, *CII*, Vol IV, pp 5-12

³ Introduction, above, pp xxxii f.

⁴ The coins of Krishnarāja were discovered at Devlānā near Nāsik *Bom Gaz*, Vol. I, pt. II, p 13

⁵ A hoard of 1600 coins was discovered at Dhāmōī in Berar

⁶ From the impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist

⁷ Both Bhagvanlal and Buhler read -माशनि, but the *akshara* preceding मा is, certainly द्रु, and there is little doubt that the whole expression was भवद्रुमाशनि The poet has used अशनि again in Verse 12 below

⁸ Buhler read कर्मणो, but the subscript *m* of *rmma* is clear in the facsimile

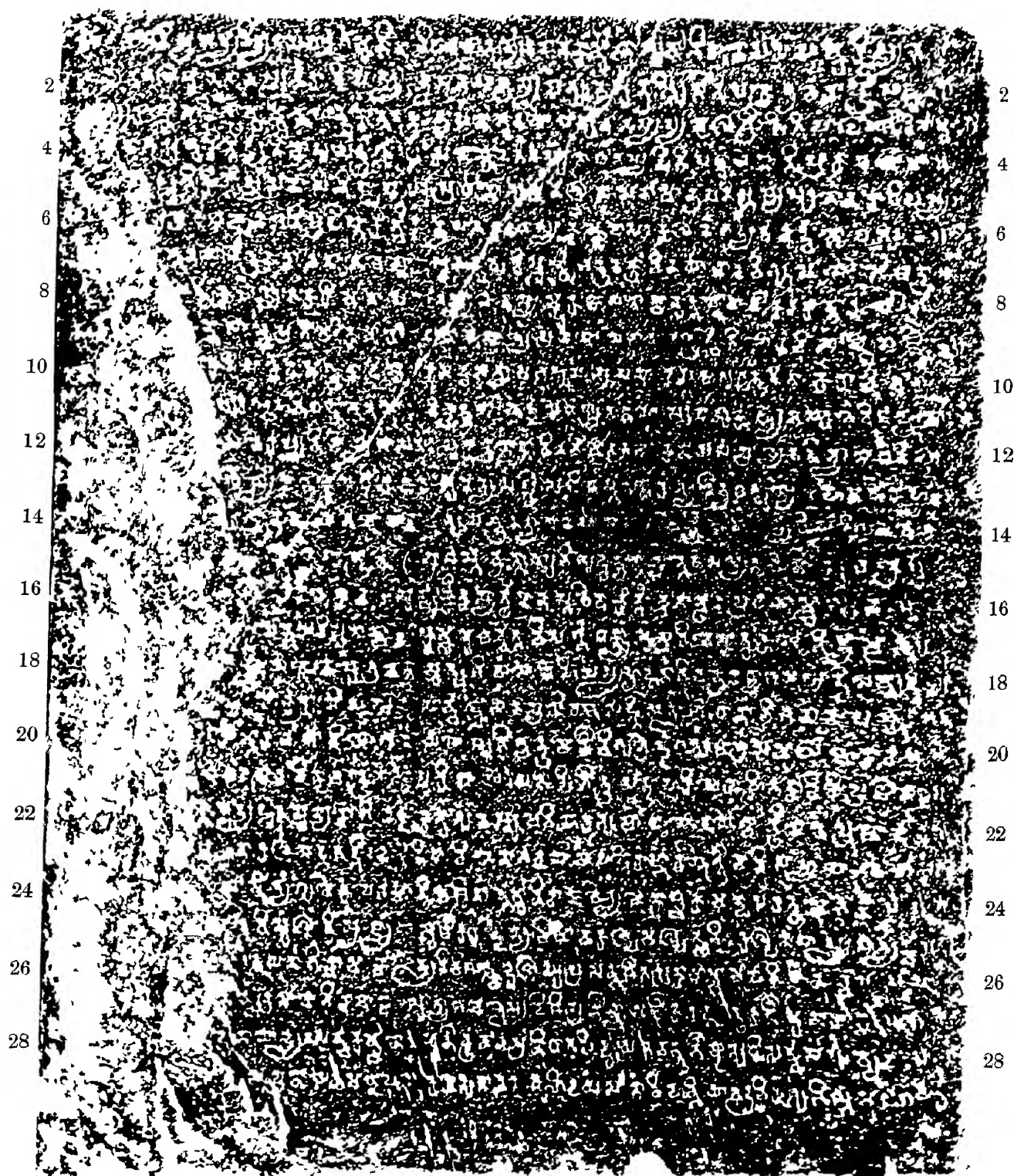
⁹ Metre *Vamśastha*

¹⁰ Bhagvanlal read नेश which will hardly suit the context Buhler read नेन, the preceding *akshara* is ल. Read नाम्ना जनपालनेन

¹¹ Metre *Upajāti*

¹² Metre of verses 3-7 *Aupachchhandasika*

INSCRIPTION IN AJANĀ CAVE XVII



- 4 ~~~~~ [ते]न¹ पृथुकीर्त्तिर्द्युतिमानुपेन्द्रगुप्त [१~] समभूद[वर²]स्सुतोथ तस्य
क्षितिपऽकाच इति प्रकाशनामा ॥ [४॥*]
- 5 ~~~~~ द्युति³कीर्त्तिन्यसनाय भिक्षुदास [१*] प्रथितो भुवि नीलदाम-
नामा नृपतिस्तस्य सुतो नराधिपस्य ॥ [५॥*]
- 6 ~~~~~ [रै] प्रथितऽकाच इति प्रदीप्तकीर्त्ति [१*] नृपतेरथ तस्य
कृष्णदास कुलवशद्युतिवर्द्धनो बभूव ॥ [६॥*]
- 7 ~~~~~ स्तनया चन्द्रकरावदानवेशा [१*] अभवत्परिपूर्णचन्द्रवक्त्रा विनया-
चारविभूषणातिचन्द्रा⁴ ॥ [७॥*]
- 8 ~~~~~ [अ*]र्त्तिस्थलोद्यो⁵(द्यो)तकरीमवाप [१*] तस्या च
तस्याम्बुरुहायताक्षावुत्तप्तचामीकरकान्तरूपौ⁶ ॥ [८॥*]
- 9 ~~~~~ [प्रद्यु*]म्नसाम्बप्रतिमौ कुमारौ [१*] धराधिपारख्या⁷ प्रथमो
वभार दध्ने द्वितीयो [र*]विसाम्ब⁸सज्ञाम्⁹ ॥ [९॥*]
- 10 ~~~~~, ~~~ [नीयोच्छ्रित¹⁰]मश्मकादि[कम्] [१*] [कृ]तार्थसत्त्वा-
(त्त्वा)[व]भिभूय¹¹ भूयसा रराजतुश्चन्द्रदिवाकराविव¹² ॥ [१०॥*]
- 11 ~~~~~, ~~~~~ ह निबद्धमानयो¹³ [१*] विवृद्धसोहार्द-
यशःप्रतानयोस्सदानुकूल्येन सुख विजह्मषो¹⁴ ॥ [११॥*]
- 12 ~~~~~ [अमान]वि¹⁵रप्यनिवार्यशासन [१*] पुराकृतोद्भाविताभीमविक्रम
कनीयसि प्राख्यदनित्यताशनि[म्]¹⁶ ॥ [१२॥*]

¹ Bhagvanlal read नेश here Buhler also read the second *akshara* as श, but the facsimile shows the reading तेन to be correct

² Bhagvanlal doubtfully read दगज and gave दवन as a possible reading Buhler admitted that दव was clear The intended word may be दवर- or possibly दपर-

³ Bhagvanlal and, following him, Buhler read द्युवि, but the second *akshara* is clearly नि, as its curve is not closed at the bottom The preceding *akshara* is probably द्यु

⁴ Bhagvanlal omitted the *akshara* preceding चन्द्रा, but Buhler read the name as सुचन्द्रा The *akshara* preceding चन्द्रा does not, however, appear like सु and has, besides, a curve at the top The repetition of चन्द्र in the verse suggests that the name of the queen ended in चन्द्र and may have been अतिचन्द्रा

⁵ These three *aksharas* were read by me for the first time The description is evidently suggested by the name *Atichandrā*

⁶ Metre *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

⁷ This expression has been variously read Bhau Daji read it as धराधिपत्ये प्रथमावतारम् Bhagvanlal's reading was एकाधिपत्यप्रथमावतारम्, which Buhler changed into एकाधिपत्य प्रथमो वभार The facsimile will show that the correct reading is as given above

⁸ Bhau Daji first read the name as रविसाम्ब and the reading has been adopted by subsequent editors The first *akshara* has a somewhat peculiar form, but in view of the names *Hansāmba* and *Śaunsāmba* occurring in v 3, it is not unlikely that the intended name was *Ravisāmba*

⁹ Metre *Upajāti*

¹⁰ These four *aksharas* read by me for the first time are almost certain

¹¹ Bhagvanlal and Buhler read नुताभ्यामभिभूय.

¹² Metre of verses 10-13 *Vamśastha*

¹³ These seven *aksharas* are almost certain

¹⁴ Bhau Daji and Bhagvanlal read विजहतो which is ungrammatical The correct reading was first given by Buhler

¹⁵ This word is completed here for the first time

¹⁶ Bhau Daji read प्रेत्य च नित्यताशनि, while Bhagvanlal gave only प्र शनि Buhler suggested गस्यत शनि The *akshara* following प्रा is undoubtedly ख्य See the form of ख्य in धराधिपारख्याम् in line 9 above. The following *aksharas* also are not very doubtful अनित्य is repeated in the next verse

- 13 -----, --- धैर्यादिव कायधीरुज¹ [1*] अनित्यसज्ञासचिव-²
स्ततःपर व्यवीवृधत्पुण्यमहामहीरुहम् ॥ [१३॥*]
- 14 -----, ----- नुजाततोषा[न्] [1*] भूयश्श्रुतत्यागदयाप्रमोद-
मैत्रीक्षमावीर्यधियस्सिषेवे³ ॥ [१४॥*]
- 15 -----, ----- नरेन्द्रान् [1*] प्रशस्तवृत्तान्सुविशुद्धवृत्तो
वृत्तेन सभ्यानुचितोनुचक्रे⁴ ॥ [१५॥*]
- 16 -----, ----- चकार [1*] अन्यार्थिकस्यार्थिजन⁵स्तथैव
कीर्त्ति कृतार्थ प्रथयाम्बभूव⁶ ॥ [१६॥*]
- 17 -----, ----- [या]न्भ[य]विप्लुताक्षान् [1*] अमूमुचद्वित्तविसर्ग-
शक्त्या पुत्रानिवेष्टा⁷न्करणाभिमृष्ट ॥ [१७॥*]
- 18 -----, ----- प्रणयेन पुत्रवत् [1*] अनूचिवा(वान्) सोपि हि
यस्य हृद्गता विद[न्] नृवध्याशय⁸शुद्धिसम्पदम्⁹ ॥ [१८॥*]
- 19 -----, ----- कराणि सद्य [1*] सर्वज्ञभावप्रणिधानसिद्धि
सत्याभिधाना¹⁰ विभवादपेयु¹¹ ॥ [१९॥*]
- 20 -----, ----- [स*]म्भारचयाधियोगा[त्*]¹²[1*] यशोशुभि¹³श्चन्द्र-
मरीचिशुभ्रैर्जगत्समग्र समलङ्चकार¹⁴ ॥ [२०॥*]
- 21 -----, ----- वदनारविन्दचन्द्रे [1*] परिपालयति¹⁵ क्षितीन्द्रचन्द्रे
हरिषेणे हितकारिणि प्रजानाम्¹⁶ ॥ [२१॥*]
- 22 -----, ----- नत्यद्भुतपुण्यराशि [1*] चक्रे भुव¹⁷ स्तूर्पाविहारभूपा
दानोदयैश्चार्थिजनप्रमोदम्¹⁸ ॥ [२२॥*]

¹ This expression was completely read for the first time by me

² This expression has been read variously, viz, अनित्यसज्ञासचिव- (Bhau Daji), अचित्यसज्ञासचिव- (Bhagvanlal) and अचित्यसज्ञासचिव- (Buhler) The second अक्षर is undoubtedly नि, and the fifth ज्ञा, the upturned curve of the medial ā being unmistakable The correct reading is therefore the one given by Bhau Daji, though his interpretation was wrong

³ Metre of verses 14 and 15 *Upajāti*

⁴ All previous editors read साम्यक्षुभितोनुचक्रे, but the reading is not supported by the facsimile and gives no good sense The third *akshara* is clearly नु, and the fourth probably चि The only possible reading appears to be सभ्यानुचितोनुचक्रे

⁵ Bhau Daji read अन्यार्थिकस्यार्थिजन-, but Bhagvanlal omitted the second *akshara*, while Buhler gave आर्थिकस्यार्थिजन which does not, however, suit the metre The *aksharas* are quite unmistakable here

⁶ Metre of vv 16 and 17 — *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

⁷ Bhagvanlal read पुत्राभिवेष्टान् and Buhler, पुत्राविचेष्टान्, but neither of these suits the context Besides, the *akshara* before ष्टा is clearly वे, not चे, thus showing the correct reading to be as given above

⁸ Read नृवद्ध्या-

⁹ Metre *Vamśīastha*

¹⁰ Bhau Daji read सत्याभिधानानि, and Bhagvanlal, सत्याभिधानाभिभवात् The context shows that this verse gives the words of the parrot, pointing out the obstacles of wealth in the attainment of the highest goal

¹¹ Metre *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

¹² Bhagvanlal read स्मारचयाधियोग, while Buhler was certain only about the *aksharas* च and योग The subscript member of the first legible *akshara* is clearly भ, and the use of अधियोग suggested that the expression ended in the ablative, though the final त् is not now legible

¹³ Bhagvanlal read यशोम्बुभि, which Buhler corrected into यशोशुभि The facsimile leaves no doubt that Buhler's reading is correct

¹⁴ Metre *Upādhavajrā* or *Upajāti*

¹⁵ There is a redundant vertical stroke after ल

¹⁶ Metre *Aupachchhandasika*

¹⁷ Buhler's emendation भुव is unnecessary as the *visarga* is dropped by the *Vārthika* on Pāṇini VIII, 3, 36

¹⁸ Metre of verses 22 and 23 *Indravajrā* (or *Upajāti*)

- 23 -----, ----- नाकुलनादवद्भि¹ [1*] नित्य वितानार्थधिया
वहद्भिर्भोधरैश्श्रीमति सह्यपादे² ॥ [२३॥*]
24 -----, ----- गाम्भीर्यगुणैरुपेतम् [1*] निवेशितान्तर्मुनिराजचैत्य-
मेकाश्मक मण्डपरत्नमेतत्³ ॥ [२४॥*]
25 -----, ----- विपुला विसृज्य [1*] अचीकरद्वित्यम⁴मानकल्प-⁵
मल्पात्मभि कल्पनयाप्यशक्यम् ॥ [२५॥*]
26 -----, ----- नयनाभिरामम् [1*] न्यवीविशत्साधुलघुप्रसन्न-⁶
शीतप्रकामाम्बुमहानिधानम् ॥ [२६॥*]
27 -----, ----- स्नेत्रमनोभिरामम् [1*] अन्यागदेशेस्य दिशि प्रतीच्या-
मचीकरद्गन्धकुटीमुदाराम् ॥ [२७॥*]
28 -----, [जग*]द्वितायोद्यतसर्वकर्मण[.] [1*] मुनीन्द्रभाव-⁷
प्रणिधानसिद्धये भवन्त्वभीष्टा भुवि सर्व्वसम्पद⁸ ॥ [२८॥*]
29 -----, ----- सप्रणयेन मण्डप [1*] करोतु तावत्कुशलोदय
सता विहन्ति⁹ यावद्रविरशुभस्तिम ॥ [२९॥*]

TRANSLATION¹⁰

(Verse 1) Having bowed to the sage (Buddha) who has completely mastered the three lores and who is a thunderbolt¹¹ to the tree of worldly existence, . . . I will set forth a description of the excellences of the donor of the *Vihāra*, whose deeds are pure

(V. 2) To the lord of man (named . . .), who wore a parasol (*over his head*) and who made his name significant by the protection of the people, was born a son, **Dhritarāsh-tra** by name, who had a white parasol

(V. 3) [The son] of that king was **Harisāmba**, whose face was lovely as a lotus and the moon. Again, the son of that king was king **Śaurisāmba**, endowed with spotless beauty

(V. 4) The resplendent **Upēndragupta** of wide-spread fame. [was begotten] by him. Then he had a younger son who became well-known as king **Kācha (I)**.

(V 5) [From him was descended].. . **Bhikshudāsa** in order to deposit his splendour and glory [on the earth.] A son of that lord of men was a king named **Niladāsa**, renowned on the earth.

¹ Bhau Dajī read as here, but Bhagvanlal proposed to read नानिलनादवद्भि, which does not, however, make a good sense Buhler omitted two *aksharas* before नाद

² This hemistich was first completely read by me. Previous editors had missed the interesting refers to the Ajantā hill as सह्यपाद.

³ Metre of verses 24-27: *Upajāt*

⁴ All previous editors read अचीकरच्चैत्यम् here, but the conjunct consonant after र is clearly इ not च्च. द्वित्य in the sense of a gift occurs in some records of the period

⁵ Previous readings of this expression were मिहानकल्पम् (Bhau Dajī and Buhler) and महीनकल्पम् (Buhler) The curve on the first म, appears to have been cancelled The following *akshara* must be read as मा It is not ही

⁶ Bhagvanlal read प्रसन्न, but the facsimile does not show an *anusvāra* on न्न.

⁷ Bhau Dajī's incorrect reading मुनीन्द्रनाथ has been repeated by both Bhagvanlal and Buhler. It involves tautology. With the reading given above, compare सर्वज्ञभावप्रणिधानसिद्धिम् in verse 19 above.

⁸ Metre of verses 28 and 29 *Vamśastha*

⁹ Bhau Dajī correctly read विहन्ति, but Bhagvanlal's misreading निहन्ति was repeated by Buhler

¹⁰ In this translation I have derived some help from Dr Buhler's rendering, though I have differed from him in the interpretation of some passages.

¹¹ The poet is fond of using *aśani* (a thunderbolt) in the sense of an instrument of destruction See V. 12. below

(V 6) His son of brilliant fame became well known as **Kācha (II)**. Then to that king was born **Krishnadāsa**, who augmented the splendour of (*his*) race and line

(V 7) His wife was **Atichandrā**¹, the daughter (*of*) clad in garments as white as the rays of the moon, whose face resembled the full moon and whose ornaments were modesty and virtuous conduct

(Vv 8-9) [He] obtained (*her*) who brightened the land in the form of suppliants² From her he had two sons resembling Pradyumna and Sāmba, who had longish, lotus-like eyes and lovely bodies like burnished gold The elder (*of them*) bore the title of a king, while the second bore the appellation **Ravisāmba**.

(V 10) Having subjugated prosperous countries such as **Aśmaka** [the two princes] whose prowess had become fruitful, shone like the sun and the moon.

(V 11) While they, whose honour was dependent on and whose creeper-like affection and glory had grown very much, were living always in concord and happiness,—

(V 12) [Fate] whose decree is not to be evaded even by superhuman beings and whose dread power was produced by the deeds done in a previous life³, announced the thunderbolt of impermanence in the case of the younger (*brother*)

(V 13) [Having overcome] as if with firmness, the diseases of the body and the mind, [the elder brother], having always the consciousness of transience,⁴ made thereafter the great tree of religious merit grow

(V 14) He served those⁵ who, who possessed great learning, liberality, compassion, contentment, friendship, forgiveness, courage and wisdom, and who felt pleased with

(V 15) He, who was of pure conduct, habitually imitated in his deeds honourable kings of noble conduct

(V 16) He made The suppliants being satisfied (*with gifts*) spread, in the same way, the fame of other suppliants⁶.

¹ Buhler restored the queen's name as *Suchandrā*. That the name ended in *chandra* is certain, but the first part of it was probably *ati*, rather than *su*. See above, p. 125, n. 4

² The description is probably suggested by the queen's name *Atichandrā* (one who has surpassed the moon)

³ Bhagvanlal took this as the description of the elder brother who he thought, murdered the younger brother, but Buhler rightly inferred that the meaning of the verse was that the younger brother perished suddenly by an accident or died of a disease

⁴ The use of the word *sachiva* in *anītya-samyññā-sachivah* has misled all previous editors. They took *anītya*, *achintya* or *achutya* as the name of the minister who, they thought, had donated the *Vihāra*. But why the minister should come in abruptly here has not been stated. The *Amarakōsha* gives two senses of *sachiva* (i) a minister, and (ii) an associate. Cf. *Mantrī sahāyah sachivau* (*Amarakōsha*, III, 207). At the end of a compound, *sachiva* conveys the sense of 'assisted by' or 'provided with' (Monier-Williams). To illustrate this sense the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* cites the following passage from Śāṅkara's *Bhāṣya* on the *Chhāṇḍōgya Upanishd* (1, 2)—*doshavad-ghrāna-sachivatvāt viddhā ghrāna-dēvatā*. *Anītya-samyññā-sachivah*, therefore, means that the elder brother was always conscious of the transitoriness of life. *Anītya-samyññā* (Pali, *anicchā-saññā*) is mentioned in Buddhist literature as an object of meditation, which destroys the sense of *ahankāra* (Pali, *asmi-māna*). Cf. *anicchā-saññā bhāvetabbā asmi-māna-samugghātāya* (Udāna, IV, 1). The verse therefore states that the elder brother, being always mindful of the impermanence of existence, engaged himself in the acquisition of religious merit. The donor of the *Vihāra* was this elder brother of Ravisāmba, not his minister

⁵ These were probably Buddhist monks

⁶ The meaning of the verse seems to be that the king bestowed so much wealth on suppliants that they themselves made munificent gifts to others which made them famous

(V 17) He released by the power of the expenditure of wealth whose eyes were suffused through fear, as though they were his (*own*) dear sons¹

(V 18) Even he who had been treated affectionately like a son repeated, like a knowing human being, the excellent and pure thoughts in his heart²

(V 19) “ (Rich persons) failed to attain, because of their wealth, the *siddhi* rightly so called (*obtainable*) by devout meditation on the Omniscient (Buddha) ”³

(V 20) He adorned the whole world by the light of his fame, bright like the rays of the moon . by collecting materials

(V 21) While that moon among the princes, **Harishēna**, whose face resembles a lotus and the moon, and who does what is beneficial for (*his*) subjects is protecting the earth

(V 22) He, who has a very marvellous store of merit adorned the earth with *Stūpas* and *Vihāras*, and caused the joy of suppliants by conferring gifts (*on them*)

(V 23) On a spur of the **Sahya** (*mountain*), looking beautiful with clouds, which, with the confused noise of always pass over it (*as if*) to provide it with a canopy⁴

(V 24) [He excavated] this monolithic excellent Hall, containing within it a *Chaitya* of the king of ascetics (i.e., of the Buddha) and possessing the qualities of stateliness

(V 25) Having expended abundant [wealth], he caused to be made this donated [*Hall*] which is almost measureless and which cannot be even imagined by little-souled men

(V 26) He caused to be dug (*near it*) a large cistern pleasing to the eyes and filled with sweet, light, clear, cold and copious water

(V 27) delightful to the eyes and the mind In another part of it in the west he caused to be made a grand *Gandhakuti*⁵

(V 28) May all the blessings desired for the attainment of *siddhi* caused by devout meditation on the lord of sages (i.e. Buddha) attend him⁶, who in all his deeds strives for the welfare of the people

(V 29) May this Hall out of affection cause the attainment of well-being by good people as long as the sun dispels darkness by its rays¹

¹ This seems to refer to the release from bondage of animals as well as human beings. Compare the fifth Pillar Edict of Aśoka, which interdicts the capture of animals in certain seasons of the year.

² Bhagvanlal, being probably misled by the word *vadhya*, wholly misunderstood the purport of the verse and translated it as follows — ‘ [The minister] who, though he knew that the king had acquired in his heart a conscience purified from murderous tendencies did not disclose ’ Buhler thought that the text was corrupt here and took the sense to be that even learned men had to acknowledge the minister’s purity of heart. Both these renderings are incorrect. The verse probably refers to a domesticated parrot kept in the palace, which, like a knowing human being (*vidan-nrivat*) repeated the thoughts in the prince’s heart.

³ These are probably the words uttered by the parrot. They point out the obstacle caused by wealth in the attainment of *siddhi*. Buhler, who did not risk a translation, thought that the general sense of the verse was that misfortunes fled (*apēyuh*) from the pious minister, being overcome by his supplications (*pramdhāna*) addressed to Buddha (*sarajñabhāra*). This is wide of the mark.

⁴ Buhler has omitted this verse completely in his translation.

⁵ Bhagvanlal thought that the *Gandhakuti* was Cave XVIII, from which an image of the Buddha had been removed. Buhler’s rendering ‘ on the other side of this (Buddha’s) body on the left ’ is obviously incorrect. The reference is undoubtedly to the Chaitya Cave XIX, which actually lies to the west of Cave XVII.

⁶ This probably refers to the prince who caused Cave XVII to be excavated.

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The Arabic numerals refer to the pages of the Texts and Translations, and the Roman numerals to those of the Introduction, *n* after a numeral to foot-notes. The following other abbreviations also have been used — *au* = author, *Br* = Brāhmaṇa, *ca* = capital, *ch* = chief, *ci* = city, *co* = country, *com* = commentator, *dt* = district, *dy* = dynasty, *eng* = engraver, *ep* = epithet, *f* = female, *jeu* = feudatory, *k* = king, *l* = locality, *m* = male, *mun* = minister, *mo* = mountain, *n* = name, *off* = officer, *pr* = prince, *q* = queen, *r* = river, *s a* = same as, *t d* = territorial division, *te* = temple, *tit* = title, *tn* = town, *vi* = village, *wk* = work.

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